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VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 6, June 1985

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27 August 1985

SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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No 6, June 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 1-7

[Editorial]

[Text] As we know, the economic management structure is a system of various economic forms designed to have a conscious impact upon the forces that participate in the production process in order to achieve established economic objectives. The task of developing agriculture in our country at this time demands that we improve the agricultural management structure, that we develop suitable economic forms designed to have a direct or indirect impact upon the forces participating in the agricultural production process, from cooperatives to each of their members, from management agencies to service and technical agencies, from management cadres to scientific-technical cadres...in order to successfully achieve agriculture's goals.

In recent years, with the aim of changing and improving the management structure of agriculture, our party and state have promulgated many policies to improve the management of agriculture and the management of cooperatives. Foremost among these policies are the policy on product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, the procurement policy and the policy on the assignment of agricultural management responsibilities...

As a result of the implementation of these policies, the management structure characterized by bureaucratic centralism and subsidization within agriculture has been partially dismantled and a number of new factors of the agricultural management structure are taking shape.

During the past 4 years, much progress has been made in agricultural production: grain production has increased by an average of 700,000 tons per year; buffalo and cattle production has increased at the average annual rate of 5.4 percent; the production of all annual and perennial industrial crops has increased at a rather rapid rate... These achievements have been due to many reasons, the most important of which are the improvements that have been made to the management structure.

However, it must be recognized that the advances that have been made in economic management, in general, as well as in agriculture, in particular, are not uniform, strong or fundamental. Within agriculture, bureaucratic

centralism and subsidization are still pervasive. This situation has rather significantly restricted efforts to mobilize forces for the purpose of developing the potentials within agriculture. Therefore, the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee made some very important decisions with regard to improving economic management, including improving the management structure of agricultural cooperatives. Cooperative management encompasses many areas:

1. The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum stated that it is necessary to change and improve cooperative planning, which constitute the most important component of the management structure. As we know, the formulation of plans at cooperatives was, for many years, something over which cooperatives had no control. The plan norms of cooperatives were handed down by the districts and the norms of the districts were apportioned by the provinces. The plan norms assigned to the cooperative by the district encompassed many areas (which crops to plant, which species of livestock to raise, how much area should be put under cultivation, the size of the yield...) and even included provisions regarding specific farming measures. In summary, production and procurement plans were largely imposed by the upper level but the obligations of state agencies with regard to providing the conditions needed for cooperatives to implement their plan were not clearly defined. As a result, the initiative, creativity and activism of cooperatives and their members were thwarted.

In recent years, in order to partially correct these shortcomings, the state has enacted a policy that stabilizes the grain procurement obligation for a period of 5 years. This has had the effect of stimulating the development of production. Here, however, the obligation that the state has to cooperatives with regard to supplying energy, agricultural materials, insecticide, fertilizer and so forth has still not been defined in the form of regulations. On the other hand, due to many different reasons, including objective requirements, many cooperatives, in the face of the difficulties being encountered by the country with grain, have had to increase their contributions at a time when grain output has been rising even though they have fulfilled the grain obligation to the state in accordance with their plan. This has led to a situation in which some cooperatives have had to contribute more as their operations have improved and the real income of cooperatives and their members has not increased.

Therefore, to improve the formulation and management of the implementation of plans, it is necessary to correct the above mentioned weaknesses in a fundamental way. The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum set the number of legal norms assigned to cooperatives at only two types, which are embodied in the economic contracts signed at the start of the season: first, the quantity of products sold by the cooperative to the state at the prices and qualitative standards established within the economic contract (which includes the products allocated for exportation); and, secondly, the material conditions (energy, supplies, raw materials, machinery, services...) provided by the state to the cooperative in the quantity, of the quality and at the prices, place and time stipulated and with money advanced to farmers by the state. These two norms reflect fair economic relations in terms of the obligation of farmers to the state and the obligation of the state to farmers throughout the process of producing agricultural products. This represents a very important improvement from the standpoint of the number and nature of legal norms, one

that provides a high degree of incentive to cooperatives and the individual laborer. However, more than a few difficulties have been encountered when implementing these norms, difficulties which demand that the supply and economic-technical service agencies supporting agriculture, especially within the scope of the district, bring about fundamental changes in their organization, management and mode of operation. The main difficulty continues to be that the districts do not control the sources of energy, materials, fertilizer, insecticide and so forth needed to sign contracts with cooperatives. The problem being faced is how to manage these items on a nationwide scale. We cannot allow the situation to persist in which many organizations and agencies that do not have an agricultural management function also have nitrogen fertilizer, materials, petroleum products and so forth in their possession which they use to "exchange" with cooperatives, carry out a "third plan" or for inappropriate purposes. If these practices are not corrected, they will surely lead to unnecessary disorder, to the strong prevailing, to collusion for the purposes of obtaining materials, fertilizer...as a result of which it will be impossible to insure the stability of the plan or insure a full supply of grain to meet the needs of society.

Other new points in the planning performed by cooperatives concern the formulation of plans and the management of their implementation. The plan of the cooperative is decided by the congress of cooperative members under the guidance of the district and village administrations. The implementation of the plan, which used to be guided largely by administrative methods is now being guided through leverage policies, the supplying of technical materials, economic contracts and various forms of economic ties and joint businesses. This represents an important change, one that closely ties the obligations, responsibility and interests of the state to those of the cooperative and demands that both sides make an effort to maintain normal operations in the various stages of the cooperative's production until the final product is produced. Either side that fails to fulfill its obligation is penalized. The above mentioned method must be supported by means of many specific, correct provisions contained within economic policies, especially the price policy, the labor policy, the science and technology policy, the cadre policy and so forth, must utilize the materials available to the state on the district level from many different sources, etc. In the initial stage of implementation, it is necessary to calculate in detail suitable increments by which the material support provided is to be increased in order to gradually raise the level of guidance and management provided by the district level and the cooperative.

Correctly making the above mentioned changes and improvements regarding plans will surely give the cooperative greater independence, uphold the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and insure the central role of the plan.

2. Together with the decision concerning the improvement of planning, the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum emphasized the need to conduct a review for the purpose of perfecting the management structure within the cooperative itself, especially the need to continue to develop incentives for cooperative members.

The final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agriculture, which have been universally applied under Party Secretariat Directive Number 100 at cooperatives and production collectives over the past 4 years, have yielded very large results in agricultural production. This is a fact that cannot be argued. The tendencies to want to re-examine the product contract policy are incorrect. However, we cannot give light attention to the deviations from this policy that have occurred at some places in the process of its implementation, the manifestations of which are the use of "non-specific" contracts for some or all jobs as a result of which the households accepting contracts must provide draft power, plow fields, select seed and obtain insecticide on their own. Some places have not given attention to strengthening the specialized units and sections, especially those that perform such important jobs as selecting and storing seed, protecting crops... The remuneration of labor within the specialized sections and units is not closely tied to the final results of their work nor has a correct policy been adopted to link the responsibility and obligation of management cadres to their interests in a manner commensurate with the results of production. Many places have not attached appropriate importance to applying product contracts in livestock production and the trades. There are many reasons for the weaknesses mentioned above. Some are the fault of state agencies but some are the result of the failure on the part of cooperative management boards to fully understand the specifics of the contract system or confusion on their part in organizing its implementation.

Therefore, perfecting the contract system demands that positive steps be taken to correct the above mentioned shortcomings while expanding the use of contracts to livestock production and the trade sector and perfecting the systems of awards and penalties, economic accountability and distribution in a way that reflects a correct and rational balance among the three interests, with appropriate attention given to the interests of the individual laborer. If thoroughly reviewed and promptly disseminated, the wealth of practical experience in implementing product contracts that have been gained by many cooperatives and districts (either in one specific area of operation or all areas of operation) will surely have a considerable impact upon the effort to perfect the new contract system. For example, many places have taken good approaches to resolve the draft power problem. The Dinh Bang Cooperative in Tien Son District, Ha Bac Province, has instituted an entire system of specific regulations ranging from regulations on the work schedule, feeding and veterinary care of buffalo and cattle to regulations governing related management cadres (of the unit and cooperative), crop producers and the persons who care for livestock which provide for appropriate awards and penalties. During the 1983-1984 winter-spring season, thanks to this system, the cooperative restored the health of 59 of the 60 buffalo and head of cattle sent to its treatment station, etc. As a result, the cooperative has sufficient draft power and the size of its buffalo and cattle herd has constantly grown, from 260 to 303 head within the space of 2 years. No one must cultivate fields in place of buffalo and the cooperative's crop yields have risen to high levels.

In the area of seed production, the Phung Thuong Cooperative in Hanoi, after drawing upon its experience many times, applied a model called the "four specializations": separate fields, a separate storehouse (that meets

technical standards), separate personnel (a specialized unit, a separate custodian for the seed storehouse) and separate drying yards. The secret here lies in contracting: as with the other units, the seed unit contracts to perform the three final jobs. The other jobs are still undertaken by the cooperative. The seed unit is allocated an additional 30 percent to cover its costs but its contract output quota is the same as that of the other units. If it exceeds its contract quota, each kilogram of seed paddy over and above its quota may be exchanged for 1.3 kilograms of ordinary paddy. The cooperative maintains close quality control over all jobs performed by the unit, which include harvesting, threshing and the depositing of paddy in the storehouse. The cooperative has also assigned additional security personnel to work alongside the storehouse custodian (the custodian receives the same remuneration as a skilled laborer). Having gained experience over a period of many seasons (experience in each job and each area of operation), the cooperative has now stabilized its seed management standards and is maintaining suitable, high yield varieties of rice.

In the other areas of work, such as irrigation and drainage, crop protection and so forth and in strengthening collective ownership, strengthening the basic and specialized units and implementing the benefit policies for management cadres, technical cadres and individual laborers good models have also emerged. By reviewing these experiences, we will surely find suitable ways to improve the new form of contracts.

3. The improvement of management within cooperatives must be closely tied to the technical and service agencies within the district. For this reason, the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum set the guideline of mobilizing the economic, technical and service network of the state to provide agricultural cooperatives and production collectives with better support.

At present, every district has a network of corporations, stations, farms and stores supporting the basic production units. This system was previously managed by the province, operated on the basis of administrative management and subsidization and was not closely linked to the results of production at basic units. Due to the lack of a mechanism that provided for a rational relationship among the obligations, responsibilities and interests of the service-technical network and the cooperative, there was a lack of close, smooth coordination in some areas of operation between the cooperative and these agencies and many negative phenomena developed, thus limiting the results of production. Recently, to correct this situation, the service-technical network was put under the management of the districts. At some places, the operation of the stations and farms and the district service-technical agencies have been shifted to socialist business procedures, economic accountability and the payment of costs from revenues, thereby helping cooperatives to raise their crop and livestock yields, as a result of which the service and technical agencies themselves have been earning a profit, growing and meeting the production needs of cooperatives better with each passing day. This mode of operation is a bridge between the district and the basic units, is glue that binds the district to the basic units, is a new kind of cooperative relationship and division of labor that will enable large-scale production to be achieved within the district and will help stimulate the formation of the district agro-industrial structure. As an example,

consider the crop protection station in Kien An District in Haiphong: previously, the protection of crops in the district was not closely managed and there were even cases in which everything was left up to the households that accepted contracts. Whatever pesticides were available (pesticides were generally in short supply and not supplied on time) were distributed to cooperative member households. When rice crops were attacked by pests and diseases, pesticides were only sprayed by persons with connections; therefore, the full effectiveness of pesticides could not be achieved. To correct this situation, the district "Crop Insurance Corporation" was established. What began as one district crop protection station consisting of eight persons whose only job was to perform administrative work and guide the movement and whose operating expenses, salaries and subsidies were provided entirely by the state is now a corporation consisting of 25 persons that has the village as its base of operation. During the 1983-1984 winter-spring season, the corporation signed insurance contracts for 6,000 hectares of rice at 25 cooperatives and achieved good results. The damage caused by pests amounted to only 7-8 percent of output (the minimum average damage stipulated within the contract was 10 percent) and the consumption of materials, petroleum products, pesticides...was reduced by 30 percent. The corporation received 300 tons of paddy (as a result of correctly implementing its contracts, the corporation was paid 2 percent of output by cooperatives as agreed upon at the start of the season). At the same time, the corporation had to pay 93 tons of paddy in compensation as a result of failing to meet the terms of its insurance contracts with a number of cooperatives. The remaining paddy was distributed as follows: 72 tons were paid to technicians (the district has a total of 284 technicians, each of whom was paid 3 quintals of paddy per season and some money for operating expenses by the corporation) and paddy worth 1,225,972 dong (48 percent of the amount received) was spent to buy materials used during the season and spent on training. Although there are still some problems that must be resolved better (for example, the ceiling on the amount of materials invested, bonus and penalty rates, cadre standards, accompanying technical measures...), this is clearly a good form of organization, one that reflects many important principles of management and introduces scientific-technical advances in production.

At present, the districts throughout the country have 936 general commerce corporations, 197 general material corporations and 83 grain corporations. Some districts have organized transportation corporations, export corporations, marine product corporations, forest product corporations, etc. These constitute considerable forces in the effort to change and improve the economic management structure. If a bold shift is made to economic accountability and socialist business principles and the basic unit becomes the base of operation and support everywhere, the development of production will surely be strongly stimulated. One lesson that can be drawn from practice is the need to develop appropriate economic forms that are fully capable of drawing the economic, service and technical agencies into the apparatus of agricultural production. This is further confirmation of the important position and role of the district level.

4. Actual experience has shown that, together with applying the system of final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, the introduction of scientific and technical advances and the widespread

application of scientific and technical achievements in agriculture have made important contributions to the success of our country's agriculture, especially in the field of grain production. How can we mobilize many scientific and technical agencies from the central to the local levels and many scientific cadres to contribute to helping basic units raise the output of crops and livestock? Over the past several years, various forms of economic ties have emerged and become increasingly widespread through the signing of contracts between basic production units and scientific and technical agencies supporting agriculture. Factors have clearly shown this to be a creative method, one that yields high economic returns. The Sen Chieu Cooperative in Phuc Tho District, Hanoi, which used to be a deficient cooperative, has become one of the district's better cooperatives over the past several years chiefly as a result of developing its production on the basis of implementing the contracts signed with scientific and technical agencies well. During the 1983-1984 winter-spring corn season, the cooperative signed a contract with the Boi River Corn Seed Center. The center was responsible for providing the cooperative with technical instruction. The cooperative assumed all production costs and paid appropriate remuneration to the technical cadres who came from the center to provide instruction. The yield agreed to in the contract between the center and the cooperative was 40 quintals of corn per hectare (the cooperative's actual yields were 22 quintals in 1981 and 26 quintals in 1982). The center was to receive a bonus or be penalized at the rate of 50 percent of all output that exceeded or fell short of the contract. Cooperative members who failed to correctly implement technical regulations were penalized by the cooperative. As a result, the cooperative recorded an average corn yield of 43 quintals per hectare and collected tens of additional tons. Its members, who once knew nothing about the intensive cultivation of corn, are now well versed in its techniques. Similar steps have been taken in buffalo and cattle production, hog production, chicken production and so forth at many places. Here, the need is to promptly publicize the experience gained in applying suitable forms of economic-technical ties between basic production units and the scientific-technical agencies on each level. It is also necessary to look ahead to the time when direct economic-technical ties between the basic production units and the scientific-technical agencies on all levels have become universal, at which point the role played by the locality, by the district and the sectors will increase very much. Then, there will be a need for plans for economic-technical ties on a broad scope. Should not the various scientific and technical sectors take this possibility into consideration in their development guidelines?

Along with mobilizing the forces of the scientific and technical agencies to support basic production units, many places have attached importance to attracting scientific and technical cadres to jobs at basic units. Within the agricultural cooperative management structure, one issue of very much importance is the need to develop suitable methods and policies that make it possible to mobilize the corps of scientific and technical cadres to support agriculture in the best possible manner.

At present, the country has 100,000 middle level cadres and 30,000 agricultural engineers. This corps is a very precious asset and has, in actuality, made important contributions to the achievements of our country's

agriculture. However, it can be asked whether this force is being utilized well? How many scientific cadres have gone to work at basic units? Regrettably, because of many different reasons, this figure is not high compared to the total number of scientific cadres. How many skilled persons are specializing in agricultural science or technology? The answer is not at all encouraging. This situation exists mainly because the scientific-technical management structure is not commensurate with the importance of this sector. Recently, the state enacted a number of new policies concerning scientific-technical cadre benefits and the mobilization of these cadres. The training of scientific and technical cadres has begun to be closely tied to the needs of localities. Some localities have signed contracts with colleges to train cadres to meet their scientific and technical development needs. This is also a good way to correct the unreasonable method of distributing agricultural scientific cadres that have been used prior to now. To attract technical cadres to jobs at basic units, Ha Tuyen Province instituted a number of incentives within the scope permitted by its capabilities, such as raising the monthly allowance, giving these cadres priority in the purchase of a number of industrial goods, providing jobs for their wives and children who accompany them and so forth. As a result, Ha Tuyen Province has mobilized more than 100 cadres who were working in the various sectors around the province to work at basic units.

5. The improvement of the agricultural management structure, in general, and the cooperative management structure, in particular, also demands that very much importance be attached to perfecting the system of policies so that it correctly reflects the close relationship between industry and agriculture, between manual workers and farmers. These policies have a very large impact upon the development of agriculture. For example, is the policy on investments in agriculture commensurate with the position of foremost importance occupied by agriculture and has balance been established among agriculture, light industry and heavy industry? Are the prices of agricultural products being calculated correctly? Do procurement prices provide incentive for farmers to work hard and guarantee reproduction? Does the ratio between the prices of industrial goods and the prices of agricultural products reflect a fair economic relationship between agriculture and industry? Here, the price policy plays a very important role. The 6th Party Plenum pointed out: "It is necessary to immediately adjust a number of agricultural product procurement prices in order to step up production, especially the production of industrial crops for exportation and important domestic needs to insure rational balance among the prices of agricultural products, forest products, marine products and industrial goods and adjust the ratio among the prices of some grain, industrial crop and livestock products."

In order to have a good impact, these policies must be well coordinated and each economic policy must encompass the social factor and be oriented toward the objectives of high yields, high quality and high efficiency within agriculture, thereby helping to develop production forces and perfect the socialist production relations.

Building the economic management structure, in general, as well as the agricultural management structure, in particular, is difficult work that requires time. To establish a correct agricultural management structure and a

correct cooperative management structure, we must have a thorough understanding of the line of the party, know the characteristics of our country and the special characteristics of agriculture well, which include its special technical and biological characteristics, think correctly and be fully capable of analyzing and summarizing the new factors that emerge within the revolutionary movements of the masses. This is the common work of all sectors on the central level, of all localities and basic units. Of course, the agencies of the central level are responsible for researching and proposing general policies and procedures. Each locality and basic unit, however, must display dynamism, creativity and initiative in the search for appropriate economic forms that will enable them to make positive contributions to the formation of the agricultural management structure.

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HO CHI MINH CITY: 10 YEARS OF CHALLENGES, 10 YEARS OF PROGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 23-38

[Continuation of article by Nguyen Van Linh, member of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee]

[Text] For Life and Man

In his speech at the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, General Secretary Le Duan said: "Man is the most precious asset. The happiness of man is the goal of the revolution, of the party and our people. Our slogan of action is everything for man, everything by man."

The 2nd Congress of the City Party Organization (1980) adopted a separate resolution on urgent measures to be taken with regard to looking after living conditions. Resolution 01 of the Political Bureau reminded us: "On the basis of developing production and raising labor productivity, full concern must be shown for stabilizing and gradually improving the material and cultural lives of the 3.5 million residents of the city, beginning with cadres, workers, civil servants, manual and mental laborers and soldiers of the people's armed forces. This must be the foremost concern of the party organization and administration of the city..."

Immediately after liberation day, the pressing problems we faced were to provide hunger relief and jobs for roughly 1 million unemployed persons who were victims of the war and the cunning policies of the Americans and puppets. The revolutionary administration campaigned among the people to return to their former villages and to participate in the building of new economic zones. Some 700,000 laborers enthusiastically responded to this policy. However, due to a lack of experience and the failure to make thorough preparations in many areas, the effort to build new economic zones produced limited results and many persons returned to the city.

Since 1980, while concerning themselves with developing production, the party organization and administration of the city have constantly given consideration to the need to stabilize and improve the living conditions of the working people. The development of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, in addition to having the objective of increasing the output of goods, also has the purpose of employing local labor along with

continuing the redistribution of labor to places outside the city. Employment now stands at 86 percent of the city's total work force. In addition, we must annually provide jobs for more than 80,000 additional persons, which is not easy to do. Bringing millions of persons who were once disorganized laborers or had left production into organized labor, where they are closely connected to production, is a complex undertaking. There is no better way to resolve the problems of living conditions and unemployed labor than by removing obstacles so that production can explode and adopting appropriate policies and measures that absorb labor.

That progress has been made in the city's distribution of labor can be seen in the fact that the number of workers within the production sector has been steadily increasing while the number of workers within the indirect production sector has been steadily declining (an increase of nearly 7 percent within the production sector and a decrease of nearly 7 percent within the indirect production sector in 1984).

In order to increase the real income of wage earners, the city has taken many different measures: at basic production and business units, the product contract system has been applied and the system of awards and bonuses has been improved; within the administrative sector, allowances and subsidies have been initiated (especially for teachers and public health personnel who directly care for patients); policies have been enacted that provide incentive for household crop production and livestock production (bringing the household economy within the orb of the state requires investments and sponsorship) and efforts have been made to supply the nine rationed goods of the proper quality, in the quantity required and on time while selling a number of additional essential goods at prices lower than "free" market prices; and, within state agencies, subsidized noonday meals have been organized and sold at prices lower than market prices. This has been a widespread campaign, one that has tapped the potentials of each basic unit and locality and has helped to reduce some of the difficulties encountered in the daily lives of cadres, manual workers and civil servants, whose standard of living is still low.

Housing is one of the critical problems of the city today. Experience has shown that just as cropland is the issue of the revolution in the countryside, the issue in the cities is housing and land. Although we have given this issue our attention, we have not focused our efforts on guiding it under a comprehensive and well coordinated plan; therefore, the results that have been achieved are still very limited. With regard to some persons to whom more attention must be given such as teachers and public health personnel, the city has adopted separate resolutions and the precincts and districts have made significant efforts to implement these resolutions. The program to eliminate "slums" and the program to build "affection" apartments for eligible persons by means of "the state and the people working together, the city, precinct, district, subward and village working together with the basic production and business units located within the district" have been supported by the masses, taken the form of an emulation movement among the various precincts and districts and yielded significant results.

Generally speaking, despite numerous efforts made in recent years to meet the city's objectives regarding living conditions, requirements have still not

been met. This is also due to many reasons: production is still not truly stable; socialist commerce still does not truly control the market and prices continue to creep upward; there are still more than 100,000 unemployed persons within the city each year; some plans to provide jobs have not been implemented well; and a number of policies designed to provide incentive for the development of the household economy have not increased the income of producers. As a result, resolving the problem of living conditions continues to be the task that poses the most difficulties. This problem must be resolved in a well coordinated manner that is closely tied to production, business and socialist transformation and very closely tied to simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, among which the scientific-technological revolution plays a very positive role. The city will soon organize symposiums for the purpose of gradually resolving this problem.

Living conditions also encompass cultural activities, education, public health, physical culture-sports and other forms of public welfare.

Education must be discussed first because, without education, it is impossible to build socialism and because the education system is of "foremost importance" in training the future masters of the country. The network of schools and classrooms has been extended from the centers of the 1st and 3rd Precincts to the worker hamlets, to the distant, remote villages and the former resistance bases in the outskirts of the city. The city has a daytime training system and night classes in supplementary education, foreign languages and trade training. Besides ordinary general school classes, the city also has education classes for children unable to attend school and "compassion" classes for delinquent street children. Since 30 April 1975, more than 10,000 students have graduated from general middle schools and more than 2,000 cadres and youths have graduated from middle level supplementary education schools annually. Enrollment has been increasing at the average annual rate of nearly 10,000 students and today some 1 million teachers and students are working hard each day to "teach well and learn well."

The returns from education are evident in many areas: the number of children earning the titles of obedient child or obedient nephew or niece of Uncle Ho, the number of progressive students, the number of socialist student collectives and the number of Children's Unit, Teenagers' Unit and Youth Union members have increased with each school year. Every year excellent students of the city record rather high marks in the national examinations. Some students, such as Le Tu Quoc Thang, Nguyen Vinh Khanh, Ho Trung Dung and Ho Thi Mai Phuong, have won high honors in the national examinations in mathematics, physics and Russian...

The city has made many efforts to open child care centers and kindergartens. For the 1984-1985 school year, the education sector opened 380 kindergartens, enrolling in them 47 percent of the children of kindergarten age.

The colleges of the city have trained 24,000 students and the vocational middle schools have trained 42,000 students of the city.

Recently, Resolution 03 of the Standing Committee of the city Party Committee, the aim of which is to concretize the resolutions of the Central Committee and

city, has helped the education sector within the city take positive steps to change the direction being taken by the schools and closely tie them to life, to the socio-economic goals of the city and the region. Importance has been attached to military education, education in labor and occupational counselling. The socialist school has created a wholesome, joyous and stable atmosphere under the guidelines for its development. Last year, many new, progressive schools, many emulation warriors and many outstanding teachers emerged at many places. Many schools have been awarded the "Labor Order" by the state.

Every school has enthusiastic teachers who study and improve themselves on their own and have overcome many difficulties in order to increase their knowledge of their specialty, their profession and of politics and ideology. More than a few of them have made innovations, are experienced and have carried out scientific research projects of value. The collectives of some schools are skilled in their profession and also experienced in organizing and looking after the living conditions of teachers. These experiences are very valuable because if teachers are not cared for, they do not possess the health and it is difficult for them to possess the peace of mind needed to fulfill their responsibility.

The advances that have been made by the education sector are very noteworthy. However, there are still some problems that we must continue to study and successfully resolve. These are: the decline in the quality of instruction at a number of schools, such as instruction in politics and Vietnamese; the failure to raise the quality of education in the outskirts of the city, in general, to keep pace with requirements; and the fact that some schools and some teachers are not progressive.

The cultural and spiritual needs of the people of the city are very diverse and have undergone many positive changes over the space of the past 10 years. In cultural and artistic activities, which include literature, theatrical art, cinematography, photography, music, the fine arts, architecture, museum preservation and so forth, very large efforts have been made to meet these needs in two different ways: one way is by raising the level of enjoyment while adjusting tastes and attitudes and stimulating new needs, that is, by guiding the development of certain needs while curbing and discouraging things that are negative in the enjoyment and appreciation of culture and art (for example, encouraging the need to read books, attend exhibits, visit cultural ruins and museums, visiting cultural centers and clubs, visiting gathering places where music is played...); the other way is to stimulate and mold a need for artistic creativity (by organizing and developing cultural activities at basic units, by organizing and developing many types of clubs and club groups and units, by means of mass literature and art, art festivals, performances and so forth).

To take the initiative in meeting spiritual and cultural needs, it is necessary to conduct a sociological survey of each category of persons by age group, sex, occupation and so forth. The Institute of Social Sciences has assisted a number of precincts and districts in this work.

The struggle over class viewpoint and stand, over aesthetic views and ideals, over the view of performing only for money...is continuing. We must harshly deal with cases involving the shameless pursuit of money, which demean the quality of art, create pollution and are harmful to both the artist and the viewer. This situation demands that not only the cadres who are directly engaged in cultural and literary-art work be alert, but also that the party committee, the administration and the mass organizations be alert, that they not let things go and leave everything up to the functional agencies as happened in 1980-1981. Prompt criticism of the negative phenomena that exist within the field of culture and literature-art by the organs of the press is something that must continue to be done, with attention given to learning from experience so that this work can be performed better and more effectively. However, we must also concern ourselves with praising the beautiful and new factors that emerge much more.

Publishing, printing and distribution agencies, the radio, newspapers...play an important role and have an important impact upon each different segment of the masses.

Through flexible measures, measures that take into consideration both the needs and standards of the masses, the physical education and sports sector has gradually developed physical education and sport activities into mass movements of increasingly high quality. Movements have been continuously launched and promoted, such as the "in celebration of the fatherland's reunification movement," the "race to the capital, the race to Chi Lang and the swim to the Bach Dang wharf to attack the expansionist aggressors movement," the "in the footsteps of the heroes' physical training movement" and so forth. These movements have drawn the participation of large numbers of the masses and helped to stimulate production and create a wholesome atmosphere among the people. Today, nearly 1 million persons within the city partake in physical training on a regular, daily basis and many persons participate in one of the 14 different sports according to their preference.

The city also recognizes that material bases (courts, fields, equipment and so forth) are an important factor in physical education and sport activities. Therefore, we have actively used investment capital of the state and revenue sources of basic units to invest in, repair and build additional courts and fields under the guideline "the state and the people working together." The number of courts and fields has increased 2.3 times compared to the period preceding liberation (in 1976, the city had 86 soccer fields, today, it has 181; there are more than 500 volleyball courts, more than 1,200 table tennis courts...).

In 1979, the city began to build its sports talent system to develop the talents of young athletes. This is a complete system consisting of four different tiers: amateur talent, key talent, centralized reserve talent and centralized talent. The system of physical education and sport clubs of the city, precincts and districts have attracted tens of thousands of persons to participate in training.

During the past 10 years, the athletes who have participated in national meets have brought back to the city 303 gold medals, 213 silver medals and 138 bronze medals and have retained or broken many national records.

However, large problems still exist within the physical education-sports movement: the masses do not yet have a full understanding of the physical education-sport movement and still participate in the movement on the basis of their natural preferences. They have yet to be instilled with the awareness that the purpose of physical training is to build and defend the fatherland. Appropriate investments have not been made in developing the movement, especially in depth. There is still a tendency to pursue sports merely for the sake of competition, with importance attached to winning while giving little attention to how sports benefit the health of the working people. The corps of athletes is not receiving regular training in modern scientific and technical knowledge. Some athletes still place heavy emphasis upon personal achievement and personal interests and their spirit of collectivism is not high.

The city's public health sector has gradually replanned the sector along the lines of consolidating and developing the "initial health care" general public health network on the basic level while establishing a number of leading specialized centers. It has organized the effective prevention and control of epidemics and brought plague, cholera and hemorrhagic fever under control. It has prevented the outbreak of major epidemics and reduced the death rate, especially the number of deaths resulting from communicable diseases and children's diseases. Good results have been achieved in the efforts to propagandize and wholeheartedly assist families in planned parenthood.

Although hospitals still face many difficulties with medicine and specialized equipment, efforts have been made to provide good medical examinations and treatment. More than 10 million persons receive medical examinations and nearly one-half million persons receive treatment at the city's hospitals each year. In particular, the sector organized the incorporation of folk medicine well, bringing together more than 1,000 practitioners and incorporating many efficacious prescriptions and methods of treatment that do not require drugs. The physical therapy movement within the city is quite strong.

The production of pharmaceuticals and the distribution of drugs have met and exceeded plan targets each year. The quality of drugs has been steadily improving and the city is meeting its own drug needs (in 1984, the central level only supplied to the city 7 percent of the drugs it needed, the balance was provided by the city itself).

Deserving of attention is the fact that scientific research within the sector has been constantly accelerated, thereby helping to improve the quality of medical treatment. In the space of only 5 years (1981-1985), the city has carried out 250 scientific research projects, some of which have yielded rather good results, such as the projects in life threatening gastro-enteritis in children, in reducing the death rate from virulent malaria by combining Eastern and Western medicine, in the production of intra-uterine loops, in the production of Alkelec AB vaccine...

During the past 10 years, we have made every possible effort to join with our compatriots in attending to the needs of life in this city, the life of each circle of workers, of each age group, including the age group that will take our place in advancing today's cause to victory. We know that the material and spiritual standard of living of the majority of workers is still low. This is due to objective causes, to the intense sabotaging of our nation's cause by the enemy and partly to our poorly developed management skills. However, there is one fact that no one can deny: this system, this society have given birth to a new stratum of Vietnamese in every field of activity, at every place, among every age group and circle, have given birth to persons who live for the common good of everyone. Although these persons are not yet the majority, their sentiments and actions are influencing those around them with each day that passes and they are helping to create a society whose way of life is beautiful.

Building the Revolutionary Administration, Upholding the Right of Collective Ownership of the Working People

Although still very young, the people's administration within the city is a fruit of the revolutionary struggle waged by the masses, one seized from the hands of the enemy in a struggle that involved countless sacrifices and lasted for many generations. Although it was difficult to seize political power, it has been even more difficult to maintain it. In view of the newly liberated city's situation, retaining political power could not simply be a matter of suppression, but mainly a matter of building, transforming and managing, not simply a matter of replacing the old apparatus with a new one, but instilling in the cadres and people of the city the sense of collective ownership, which encompasses both responsibilities and rights.

General Secretary Le Duan pointed out: "On the basis of fully analyzing the city's special characteristics, it is necessary to bring about progress through the two factors that are of most basic importance, collective ownership and socialist industrialization."(4)

Thoroughly understanding the party's view concerning "the right of collective ownership of the working people" in the socialist revolution, the city quickly established and gradually developed the various structures of its administrative apparatus. During the past 10 years, the city has held two People's Council elections on the city level and four People's Council elections on the precinct, district, subward and village levels. At present, there is a party organization and mass organizations on each level and, together with the system of administration, the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the administration manages" has been put in place. This mechanism has been effectively utilized by the city in the performance of daily political tasks and in concentrated campaigns and significant progress has been made in developing the role of the People's Councils on the various levels as well as the role of the Fatherland Front within the population centers and the role of the Trade Union, the Federation of Collective Farmers, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union in the management of the state and socio-economic management.

The practices of having public security cadres and police and a number of departments and sectors of the administration receive the public and act upon the complaints, needs and aspirations of the people as well as publicly criticize themselves have helped to perfect the socialist system of law and establish the habit of "living and working in accordance with the Constitution and the law." The decision of the city concerning the organizational structure of the subward and village level and the state-operated enterprises concretized the right of collective ownership of the working people on the basic level and yielded concrete results that have truly made the administration an administration "of, by and for the people" and brought the working people closer to the administration, to the system.

The city party organization has attached importance to building and strengthening the administration on the precinct and district level and even on the subward and village level. Here, we would like to focus on the subward level. In 1981, the city Party Committee issued a decision concerning the organizational structure of the subward level, a decision that was based on the actual situation of the subwards and was designed to meet the requirements of political tasks in the new stage. Under the impact of this organizational structure, the subwards have reached new levels of development and recorded many important achievements. At the same time, however, the subwards face new requirements as a result of this development. In March of this year, the city Party Committee, summarizing this new situation, issued a decision on "improving the management structure of the subward level," in which it confirmed the positive aspects of the situation, defined the objectives, position, functions and tasks of the subward, defined the principle elements involved in the assignment of management responsibilities to the subward, such as the plan, the budget...and augmented the organizational structure of the subward apparatus. This decision stated: the main tasks of the subward in the immediate future are to work with the precinct and city to correctly carry out socialist transformation among those persons within the subward who lie within the scope of this policy; look after the living conditions of the people within the subward and provide jobs by organizing and developing production and the services and organizing the household economy; maintain and properly perform security and national defense work, census management and the work involved in redistributing the population; perform all the jobs that lie within the fields of culture, social work, public health, education, physical education-sports, protecting human health, establishing the new way of life and molding the new, socialist man; solidify and strengthen the organizations of the party and administration, the mass organizations and the block and neighborhood team organizations; train cadres and develop the party and Youth Union; organize activist forces, build models and widely introduce them elsewhere...

This decision of the city Party Committee has clearly defined the subward as a planning level, as a level that has its own budget. This is an exceedingly important factor in creating the conditions, creating the material forces for the subward to fulfill its role as the basic unit of the administration, the party and the Front.

In the leadership and guidance it provides, the city Party Committee attaches importance to insuring that the various party committee echelons, party

chapters, cadres and party members within the administration and the system of administration agencies on the subward level, in general, have a full understanding of the issues that lie at the heart of their work, namely, correctly evaluating the masses, having confidence in the masses, relying upon the masses, making every effort to develop production, taking positive steps to provide jobs, developing the services, paying full attention to the material and spiritual lives of the people and, on this basis, transforming and building solid and strong subwards.

Having spent 10 years building the administration within the city, there are still some matters concerning viewpoints and concepts that must be clarified from the city to the basic level.

Involved here is the need to firmly establish the concepts and views of the party and state concerning the socialist system of law. Managing a city as well as managing the country by means of law is a principle because socialist law is the expression of the equality and freedom that exist within socialist collective ownership, is an agreement between the people and the administration concerning rights and obligations. This management cannot be conveniently based on someone's subjective desires. The standards of socialist democracy are manifested in two areas: one, it must effectively liberate production forces and, two, a relationship of equality and mutual respect comes into being among the working people. Every manifestation of "favoritism" or "abridging" the practice of democracy is alien to the views of the party. The people of the city as well as the cadres of the various levels and sectors must be thoroughly educated in the law and the socialist system of law. One fact is very clear: the people are very "sensitive" to anything that affects the political power that they shed their blood to win and build.

However, on this important front, the city must still make improvements in many areas. Some elected agencies are still conducting activities that are activities in name only and have yet to correctly fulfill their functions and tasks as defined in the Constitution. The agencies of dictatorship have performed a major service in maintaining political security and social order and safety; however, the ills of an overbearing attitude, bribery and intimidation of citizens have yet to be eradicated among the cadres and personnel of the sector. Good examples have not been widely developed upon. Many administrative agencies still inconvenience the people. These are weaknesses of the administration apparatus and are also shortcomings in the leadership work of the party. The period of transition is the period of arduous, bitter class struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom," is the period of the most thorough, most profound revolutionary changes in all areas of society throughout the country. The class struggle within Ho Chi Minh City has been more arduous and bitter than at other places because of the city's historic characteristics and because the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists consider this city to be the focal point of their wide-ranging war of sabotage. As a result, not only have we been unable to relax our efforts to solidify and strengthen the administration for one moment, but we have also had to take every possible step to insure that

the administration is truly the most effective tool of the proletarian dictatorship system, that is, that it is an effective part of the mechanism "the party leads, the state manages and the working people exercise ownership."

During the past 10 years, the people's armed forces and the people's public security forces have carried on and enhanced the fine tradition and character of the heroic people's army and always been the firm base of support of the administration on the various levels. The local armed forces comprise a system that extends from the city to the precinct, district, subward and village levels. The people's public security system extends all the way down to the block. Shock youth forces and militia and self-defense forces have been established everywhere. The movement to maintain the security of the fatherland is underway within each neighborhood team and people's team. Reserve forces are rather tightly organized... The coordination between the army and public security forces in the maintenance of combat readiness within the area is quite close. At the same time, the capability exists for successfully coordinating with the military region, with the forces on the upper level in every situation.

Every year, as it has participated along with the rest of the country in fulfilling our international obligation, the city has exceeded its military induction targets and learned that all the sons and daughters of the city who have gone to fulfill their international obligation in the country of our friends have recorded good achievements.

Combating the negative phenomena that exist within the administration, such as bureaucracy, conservatism, the loss of integrity, demanding bribes, intimidating and inconveniencing the masses and so forth, is also an effective way to stimulate efforts to solidify and strengthen the administration on all levels within the city.

Having the party in political power is something very new and the right of collective ownership of the working people is also something very new, especially to a city such as Ho Chi Minh City. Therefore, strengthening the administration in a manner closely linked to the requirement of upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and constantly improving the management structure, which includes the assignment of management responsibilities, are the foremost and hourly concerns of the party organization and working people of the city so that we can constantly tap each existing capability and mobilize each potential for the purpose of performing the two strategic tasks well: building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Building a Strong and Solid Party and Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union;
Expanding the Revolutionary Action Movements of the Masses

Political Bureau Resolution 01 placed special emphasis upon the following:
"The decisive factors in insuring the successful performance of the political tasks of the city are to build a city party organization that is solid and

strong politically, ideologically and organizationally, provide cadres with elementary and advanced training and intensify the revolutionary movements of the masses.

During the past 10 years, the party organization, continuing to uphold its dynamic tradition of the war years, has kept abreast of the new life and resolved complex political, social and economic problems in a rather swift and effective manner. On the basis of gaining a thorough understanding of the party's line and the special characteristics of the city, the party organization stabilized many aspects of the city's situation immediately after liberation day. During the years of difficulties and perils, it led the masses in the fight to traverse the rapids and win victory.

The strongpoints and shortcomings of the party organization are most clearly evident in the field of economic and social management. In the face of the new challenges, of the severe restraints imposed by the bureaucracy and subsidization of the administrative management structure, the party organization, instead of standing idly by, has always taken a revolutionary-offensive position. It has acted from the very outset in the interests of the masses and the revolution. Gradually, through practical experience and under the light of theory, the party organization has come to understand the laws governing socialist construction, has combined zeal with intelligence, combined leadership with the masses on the basic level and brought the process of guiding the city within the orb of these laws and successfully applied each view of the Party Central Committee. Daring to persistently pursue that which is correct, willing to admit its mistakes and determined to rectify them from top to bottom, these are the most important aspects of the growth that the party organization has undergone. The second strongpoint of the party organization is that it has gradually come to a correct assessment of the role, position and strength of the city as an industrial center of the region, as a result of which it has adopted a scientific work method and a dynamic, well coordinated industrial style as evidenced in its plans, in its detailed organizational measures, in the movement to build and learn from advanced model units. The third strongpoint of the party organization is that it has continued to uphold its tradition of clinging to the laboring masses, serving the laboring masses, persevering in its effort to establish and uphold the right of collective ownership on the basic level and encouraging the masses to display creativity in their work and in the building of the new life--all of which are factors that have helped to thwart and combat bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism and inertia. That the party organization has upheld its tradition of clinging to the masses is also evident in the facts that each position, policy and resolution has become part of the consciousness and actions of the masses, the masses have been given the responsibility of building and protecting the administration, of maintaining political security and social order and determined steps have been taken to suppress counter-revolutionaries and hoodlums by many different methods.

Organizationally, the city party organization has grown from the roughly 1,000 party members who were in the city and its outskirts prior to liberation day to more than 56,000 members and more than 1,900 basic organizations. During the past 10 years, the party organization has accepted 20,000 new members, the majority of whom have been youths; however, only 17 percent have been direct

production workers. The party organization must make a much greater effort to insure that the makeup of its membership corresponds to the working class nature of the party within an industrial center. In particular, it must make a major effort to develop the party at basic units and enterprises and on the subward and village level because these are the places where outstanding individuals and collectives who possess the required political standards, specialized skills, revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit emerge each day, particularly among youths. We have not attached appropriate importance to youths and sometimes still hold prejudices and narrowminded attitudes toward them. This is precisely why there are still many strategically important places and many areas in the vanguard of our struggle in which there are no party members despite the fact that the number of basic organizations of the party has increased 20 times compared to the period immediately following liberation. The number of weak and deficient basic organizations has now been reduced and the number of pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party is increasing with each year; generally speaking, however, the capabilities of the basic organizations of the party do not meet the requirements of the revolution.

There are several major shortcomings in the party organization's education and training of party members, such as the following:

--It has not made party members fully aware of the fact that the class struggle is continuing under another form so that they are not vague about the situation.

--It has not given appropriate attention to the mistakes that a party in power can easily make: bureaucracy, remoteness from the masses, a lack of democracy...; if they do not constantly seek to improve the personal qualities, party members who hold public positions and have power easily fall victim to many maladies, such as dogmatism, despotism, liking to be flattered, factionalism and the attitude of an official, which also easily lead to embezzlement and corruption.

--Although the struggle against negative phenomena within the party organization has been intensified at certain times and places and yielded good results, the measures employed in this struggle have lacked coordination; therefore, the results achieved have been limited and internal antagonisms have arisen that have adversely affected work and production.

--Each party member and Youth Union member has yet to be given a deep understanding of the socialist revolution so that their revolutionary zeal can be more vigorously tapped in the cause of socialist transformation and socialist construction.

In the socialist revolution, the role of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union as the competent arm and reserve force of the party has assumed even greater importance, especially in view of the fact that the class struggle is bitter and complex. Cadres of the city Youth Union who grew and matured in the war of resistance and during the past 10 years of socialist construction currently

hold importance positions within the apparatus of the party, the administration and the mass organizations. Building the party means giving attention to building the Youth Union, the organization of young communists.

The forces of the Youth Union have grown quite rapidly in size (160,000 members, 100 times more than immediately following liberation) and in quality. They have taken the place of the party at places where there is no basic organization of the party and have been the activists within the movements of the city over the past 10 years. When discussing the Youth Union, it is first of all necessary to talk about the youths among manual workers, among collective farmers, among scientific-technical cadres, within the armed forces and within the corps of persons engage in cultural and social work. The Youth Union must also more fully concern itself with unprogressive youths and average youths. Although the Youth Union has made many creative and flexible efforts in recent years, introduced TUOI TRE Newspaper and established youth cultural centers and teenager and children cultural centers on the city, precinct and district levels to bring together the mass of youths within and outside the Youth Union, there are still many youths who are not participating in revolutionary movements and the Youth Union has yet to fully teach ideals to youths and has not given appropriate attention to raising their class awareness, to deepening their patriotism and love of socialism. In particular, the activities of the Youth Union are, to some extent, still administrative in nature, still activities in name only and have yet to assume a fully industrial style. Generally speaking, the city has a high evaluation of the efforts of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the results it has achieved over the past 10 years. In the face of the city's constantly changing and developing situation, the Youth Union has conducted studies and given thought to issues but has yet to promptly meet the many, diverse needs of the youths, teenagers and children of the city.

There have been continuous revolutionary action movements among the compatriots of all circles and age groups within the city over the past 10 years, movements that have been practical in purpose and have contributed to the victory of the city.

In talking about the citizens of the city, one must first talk about the working class. Having come into being when French capitalism and colonialism invaded and occupied this land, the working class launched struggles at an early date. In the 1930's, under the leadership of the party, with spontaneity evolving into consciousness, the working class occupied the central position in the historic events that took place within the city. During the 21 years under the neo-colonialist regime, along with the development of the city's industry, the working class grew in both size and quality. These staunch and unyielding Vietnamese, the most severely oppressed, exploited and enslaved, the most disgraced of all Vietnamese, were even more ruthlessly exploited as their technical skills became more sophisticated.

Under the new system, workers not only produce, but have also actively participated in the struggle to abolish the compradore bourgeoisie and carry out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce and the transformation of agriculture. Workers even exercise their right of

collective ownership in stabilizing and improving the material and cultural lives of the workers at enterprises and in political, cultural and social activities within the population centers. In the general offensive and uprising, during the first years and months following liberation day and, in particular, during the difficult years of 1979 and 1980, we were given additional evidence of the revolutionary character and very precious qualities of the city's corps of workers. The city has the right to be proud of its corps of workers, workers who possess a high revolutionary spirit, manual skills and an industrial sense of organization and discipline, a corps tempered in many challenges.

At present, the number of centralized industrial workers is 28 percent higher than it was immediately after liberation (both central and local industry). Some 95 percent of manual workers and civil servants have joined the Trade Union compared to 50 percent previously. The quality of basic Trade Union organizations has improved with each passing year.

The number of small industry and handicraft laborers, who also constitute a very large force within the city, has increased by 50 percent compared to the period immediately following liberation. Of this number, 56 percent are earning their livings collectively and the majority have joined the Association of Cooperative Labor.

The various levels of the Trade Union Federation and the Association of Cooperative Labor have made numerous efforts to bring workers together, educate them and raise their socialist awareness. In particular, their various organizations have conducted practical social insurance activities for workers, such as building the Thanh Da Rest Home for workers, organizing worker vacations in Da Lat, Vung Tau and Nha Trang, providing housing and maintaining and improving the system of busses taking workers to and from work together with many other activities.

In recent years, the Trade Union Federation has made numerous efforts to launch many movements to emulate in production, the practice of frugality, the engagement of forces in scientific and technical activities, the teaching of tradition, the teaching of politics... However, it must be acknowledged that compared to requirements and the abundant potentials that lie within the working class, the educational function of the Trade Union Federation must still be strengthened much more. The farmers in the outskirts of the city are the very close allies of the working class. Workers and farmers were the main force in the people's national democratic revolution and are also the main force in the socialist revolution. During the first years following liberation, farmers worked diligently to rebuild their ravaged villages and brought the color green back to their fields and gardens. Following initial problems and hesitating on the threshold to cooperativization, the majority have now chosen the path to socialism. Many districts have recorded rather rapid and steady advances in the cooperativization movement.

Through the movement to redistribute cropland, which was completed ahead of schedule in 1983, and the cooperativization movement with the well coordinated forms of organization, stages of development and organizational measures set forth in Resolution 21 of the city Party Committee dated 6 June 1983 and with

the success of Party Secretariat Directive 100 on implementing the resolution of the 7th Party Plenum on building the districts, we have gained a clearer understanding of and increased confidence in the revolutionary nature of the working farmers in the outskirts of the city, who have always followed the party since the day it was founded.

The city's present corps of intellectuals consists of persons from four different sources: local intellectuals, resistance war intellectuals, cadres sent in from other places and young, recently trained cadres, who constitute a rather large force. Immediately after liberation, the city implemented a policy of uniting and making use of this valuable force. It has utilized practically all intellectuals of the old regime and many leading intellectuals have made an impact. These intellectuals, who come from many different sources and represent many different levels of training, have supplemented one another, have developed upon their strengths and overcome their weaknesses for the sake of the common cause of building socialism. However, some forms of discrimination that were evident during the early years and still exist today among some individuals and organizations together with the fact that the policies on salaries, recognition of academic degrees and so forth have been improved slowly and the objective difficulties resulting from the socio-economic situation plus the impact of the enemy's activities have combined to cause some intellectuals to vacillate. This is regrettable. Ten years later, following challenges and the adjustment of attitudes and policies on the part of the city, those intellectuals who have remained at their position have gradually abandoned their psychological complexes and the city now has only one corps of intellectuals, the corps of socialist intellectuals. The contributions that have been made by the city's socialist intellectuals in the social sciences, the technical sciences, literature and art have been very large. Very gratifying is the fact that large numbers of intellectuals have been enthusiastically participating in productive labor, have discussed their discoveries and inventions with workers and have turned their discoveries and inventions into the common property of society for no other purposes than to support production and national defense, support the health and daily lives of their fellow countrymen. The increasingly close ties between mental laborers and manual laborers are not a phenomenon found only at a few agencies and enterprises. During an informal meeting with intellectuals of the city, Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong, happily noting the growth and qualities of the new intellectual, stated that the term "local intellectual" should no longer be used by us and that all Vietnamese intellectuals from all different training backgrounds who are now working for the cause of socialism are socialist intellectuals. The issue that must be faced soon is to further tap the talents of these mental laborers by means of comprehensive, specific policies, by providing them with the means they need to conduct experiments, carry out their activities and acquire the latest scientific achievements of the world, by providing fundamental solutions to the problems they are experiencing with living conditions and by giving more appropriate attention to young intellectuals.

The city's youths have continued to play their role as the shock force taking the lead in all fields of activity in the socialist revolution. The "three assaults of collective ownership" movement of the city's youths in productive labor, the maintenance of security, national defense, studies and work has

been maintained and continuously developed despite the many difficult periods experienced during the past 10 turbulent years of the country and the city. Many young cadres who have grown within the movement over the past 10 years have augmented the corps of leadership and management cadres. Today, a rather high percentage of youths hold key positions within the various sectors, levels and mass organizations.

The city quickly launched and organized assault youth forces to carry on the tradition of youths during the war of resistance, put youths to work and, in this way, mold them into new workers deserving of praise in all fields of activity. This is a collective environment designed to enable youths to transform themselves into persons who work on their own initiative and know how to work for themselves and society, how to work in a productive and efficient manner. More than 60,000 youths have experienced this intense environment, including youths who were once delinquent, and more than two-thirds of assault youths have completed their tasks and returned to their unit and locality, practically all of whom are citizens who possess good qualities and new skills. The continued lack of a clearly defined policy that guarantees the rights of assault youth unit members and establishes the assault youth unit as an official organization has also limited the impact of our efforts to mobilize assaults youths.

The city has a very powerful and valuable force of women. They are persons who contributed to the brilliant victory of the general offensive and uprising in 1975, some by participating in military attacks, others by participating in uprisings. During the past 10 years, upholding their "heroic, unyielding, loyal and responsible" tradition, women have been participating in the "new woman" movement and the "family of the new culture" movement. Women account for 53.4 percent of the industrial work force, 75 percent of the small industry and handicraft work force, 60 percent of agricultural labor, 80 percent of public health personnel and the distribution-circulation work force and 100 percent of child care governesses. Women participate and have recorded achievements in all fields of economic and social activity, public health, education, literature and art, physical education-sports, security and national defense. Of the city's 9,000 emulation warriors, more than 50 percent are women. Some 150,000 families have been recognized as families of the new culture and 197,000 women have been recognized as new women. How can we forget the slain heroine Nguyen Thi Hai, a worker in Binh Tay, who risked her life to protect her factory's property? Women have been and are actively participating in the campaigns to transform private, capitalist industry and commerce, transform agriculture, reorganize and manage the market... The entire country is talking about the model that is the Commercial Grain Corporation managed by Ba Thi. Millions of citizens of the city buy their rice from this corporation.

When the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, used their lackeys to unleash the war along the southwestern border, countless women encouraged and prepared their loved ones, their husbands, sons and brothers to leave their homes and fulfill their obligation to defend the fatherland just as they had encouraged their relatives to go fight the French and the Americans.

The various strata of elders, religious followers, ethnic Chinese, industrialists and traders, overseas Vietnamese who have relatives within the city and so forth, who have been and continue to coordinate with the mass organizations of workers, farmers, youths, women and intellectuals within the Fatherland Front (whose membership now numbers 1.5 million) in activities supporting our common cause, have made valuable contributions in many different fields over the past 10 years and have been and are creating many wide-ranging and effective forms of activity to support the cause of socialism in the city and the defense of the fatherland.

In our 10 years of mobilizing the masses, launching revolutionary action movements and building forces, we have steadfastly adhered to the party's policy of national concord. The party is close to the people. In its mobilization of the masses, it has balanced the rights and obligations of each circle and taken as its common theme the tasks of economic, cultural and social development and the task of defending the fatherland. We have consistently maintained the party's trust in the people and the people's trust in the party. On the basis of transforming and reorganizing the city's economy and building an increasingly homogeneous class foundation within society, the party has expressed trust in the masses and relied upon them to launch revolutionary action movements that have been increasingly specific and practical from the standpoint of their themes and objectives and has selected from within these movements activist cadres for the revolution. Special importance has been attached to teaching politics and ideology. The themes of this educational effort have been closely tied to rights and obligations. The teaching of traditions has been closely tied to current and future tasks and we have always tried to continuously develop upon and enhance our traditions in a manner consistent with the political task of the city during the different periods.

However, we are still weak in some areas of our mobilization of the masses. With the party in power, the tendency exists for our efforts to mobilize the masses and build political forces to become "administrative" in nature. Some cadres of the mass organizations have come under the influence of the "working from the office" approach to their jobs, have little contact with or understanding of the people and are more concerned with form than substance. This is one of the many reasons that have limited the success of the revolutionary movements of the masses.

To Be Worthy of Being the City that Bears the Name of the Great Uncle Ho, Worthy of the Trust and Love of the Central Level and the Compatriots of the Entire Country

During the past 10 years, the city has turned a new page. Once the stronghold of the aggressors and the lackeys that served them, once a city in which a pleasure-seeking, extravagant lifestyle, social ills, oppression and injustice could be seen everywhere, it has now become a producing city, a city with the culture of the working people, a city that serves the working people and is gradually assuming the role of a center in many different ways.

Ten years do not constitute a long enough time. However, through the bitter struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy, between that

which is creative and progressive and that which is conservative and backward, the city Party Organization has rather clearly manifested its strengths and weaknesses. The party organization and people of the city are happy and excited over the achievements that have been recorded in virtually every area. These achievements have stemmed first from the correct and creative line of the party, from the close and constant leadership and guidance provided by General Secretary Le Duan together with the collectives of the Political Bureau, the Party Secretariat and the government and the departments and sectors on the central level.

The second reason behind these achievements is that the city has mobilized and developed a combined strength, one that consists of the strengths of the city itself plus the additional strength it has received from elsewhere: the right of collective ownership of the four generations, of the four different sources of cadres and of all three levels joining efforts to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions; the support received from the central level, from our economic ties and joint businesses and cooperation with the cities and provinces of the region and the entire country; the steadfast support of patriotic overseas Vietnamese; the wholehearted assistance provided by the Soviet Union together with the community of fraternal socialist countries, by the provinces and municipalities of fraternal countries that have established brotherhoods with our city and by our friends in the world.

The third reason is that the party organizations and administrations on the various levels, in a spirit of responsibility to the party, the state and the people, have always strictly complied with the guidance provided by the upper level, steadfastly supported and protected that which is new and correct, been determined to rectify mistakes and correct weaknesses and not allowed themselves to stray from the correct path.

The fourth reason, one that has assumed very important significance, is that cadres, party members and the masses, in view of the fact that the path being followed by the city is still a very new path along which many obstacles and pitfalls still lie, have become increasingly conscious of the need to study theory and learn from practice, the practice of the city itself, of other localities and of foreign countries, mainly the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Looking back over the past 10 years, the city still faces the requirement of learning all the potentials and the many rich traditions of the city together with the most important lessons that have yet to be learned. We were exceedingly impressed by the lesson presented by General Secretary Le Duan during the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (3 July 1984): "The process of developing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production is raising a host of theoretical and practical problems that must be resolved, which include gaining a thorough understanding of the revolutionary line and the line on economic development, developing the forces that bring about development, strengthening the management of the state, raising the level of practical organizational skill and launching revolutionary movements of the masses. We cannot successfully manage the economy if we do not grow and grasp the most effective theoretical weapon of our times--the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

The party must equip cadres and party members with a profound knowledge of theory and practice and must cultivate within the corps of leadership cadres and management cadres correct economic thinking, that is, must insure that they fully understand and correctly apply the economic laws and the matters in the nature of a law of the socialist revolution in our country."(5)

As far as the city is concerned, it is clear that the future of socialist construction depends upon how well we learn and apply objective laws in the initial stage of the period of transition within a city that is closely tied to a region that is unique in many ways, a city whose role and position is important to the entire country. With this knowledge and with revolutionary zeal, we must continue to tap the offensive spirit of the working class, farmers, intellectuals and the broad masses of the city, with youths serving as the shock force.

The party organization and people of the city begin 1985 with the thoughtful words of advice offered by the esteemed Le Duan, the esteemed chairman of the Council of State Truong Chinh and many other leaders of the party and state who addressed the cadres, party members and compatriots of this city during this year's celebration of Tet deeply ingrained in their hearts. The party organization and administration of the city will achieve a fuller and deeper awareness of the position and special characteristics of the city as stated in Political Bureau Resolution 01; will develop the strength of the city that lies in its production capacity on the basis of thoroughly understanding and properly implementing the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Party Plenums; will take determined steps to dismantle the management structure characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization and shift entirely to economic accountability and socialist business principles; and will intensify the socialist transformation of industry, commerce, small industry, the handicraft trades and agriculture (only the basic elements of transformation have so far been completed). While intensifying our efforts in the fields of ideology and culture, we will constantly work to strengthen and solidify the national defense system, firmly maintain political security and social order and safety, make every effort to build a party organization that is truly pure, solid and strong from the city to the basic level, strengthen the administration, the front and the mass organizations and launch continuous, spirited revolutionary movements among the masses.

In the spirit "for the entire country, along with the entire country," the party organization will do its very best to perform the tasks described above in a dynamic, swift and effective manner and with concern for efficiency in production and business in order to carry out the large and glorious task that General Secretary Le Duan, with feelings of boundless love and trust, assigned to the city: "Developing Ho Chi Minh City into a city that is strong in every respect, into a socialist city that possesses a modern industrial-agricultural structure and is progressive from the standpoint of culture and science, into a civilized and modern city of importance in Southeast Asia."

The party organization and people of the city are moving down the path that lies ahead with absolute confidence in and following the teaching of the most esteemed Uncle Ho: "Our workers and farmers and the mental laborers must believe that we possess all the strength, courage and intelligence needed to

build their new life. We can succeed in everything if only we possess a full sense of ownership, a full collective spirit and a full sense of discipline, make every effort to learn, to raise our cultural and technical standards and possess the spirit of creating and finding the new, of learning, studying and applying the new."(6)

FOOTNOTES

4. Excerpt from speech by Le Duan at the 3rd Congress of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Organization.
5. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te"[Understanding the Laws that Apply, Changing and Improving Economic Management], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 8.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 215.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE CURRENT SELECTION AND ASSIGNMENT OF CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 39-46

[Article by Le Duc Binh]

[Text] The Progress That Has Been Made, the Problems That Exist

During the 3 years since the party's 5th National Congress and in a manner closely tied to the performance of political tasks, the work of selecting and assigning cadres has been carried out on a large scale through many positive measures and has yielded marked results.

Through the party organization congresses held on the various levels in 1982 and 1983, an important step was taken in strengthening the structure and improving the quality of the various party committees, from the provincial and municipal to the district, precinct, city and basic levels. More than one-third of the members of the previous party committee term were not present on the new party committees. As many as 20 percent did not return because of their age, frail health, limited ability or mistakes involving their personal integrity. The majority of the new comrades who were selected to participate in this party committee term are persons who have been challenged in practice, have completed their tasks well, are younger and possess a relatively high level of knowledge in all areas.

Due to the elementary and advanced training provided to cadres in recent years, this term of the provincial party committees is characterized by a new feature, namely, uniformity of qualifications from the standpoint of political theory and economic management between the localities of the South and the North.

Progress has been made with respect to the ability of many provincial and district party committees to provide guidance. Practically all party committees have established work regulations and work methods have been improved.

The promotion and reassignment of cadres within many ministries, general departments and sectors on the central level as well as enterprises and corporations have been carried out quite vigorously. During the past 3 years, our party promoted and reassigned as many as 40 percent of the ministers, vice

ministers and cadres holding similar positions. Among the leaders of the enterprises, corporations, staff departments, line departments and institutes within many sectors, the replacement rate has also ranged between 40 and 50 percent. These steps have met part of the need to build a stronger organization and insure the performance of political tasks in recent years.

In keeping with the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, the party conducted a re-evaluation of its cadres, with importance attached to the leadership cadres of the localities and the important economic sectors and basic units. Generally speaking, the investigation, prosecution and replacement of cadres who possessed inferior personal qualities or had committed grave shortcomings were carried out in a more positive and serious manner than previously. A number of cases in which strict, fair disciplinary actions were taken were welcomed by public opinion and had a good educational impact.

To support the task of building the districts, we have continued to assign additional cadres to the districts. As many as 70 percent of the district party committee secretaries are provincial party committee members and 29 provincial and municipal party committees have assigned members of their standing committees to personally serve as chairmen in districts that are strategically important from the standpoint of national defense or in key economic districts. During the 2 years 1983 and 1984, according to incomplete statistics, we assigned more than 5,000 additional cadres to the districts and basic units, mainly to districts along the northern border, districts in the Central Highlands and key agricultural districts. Cadre work has met the requirements involved in the assignment of economic management responsibilities and the turnover of basic units to the districts, the restructuring of the offices and sections of the districts and the formation of the various business corporations of the districts.

Thus, in a relatively short amount of time, the selection and assignment of cadres have been carried out rather well, progress has been made in gaining a thorough understanding of the line and views of the party concerning cadre work and efforts have been made to closely adhere to and support the major political tasks of the party.

However, changes in cadre work are still coming about slowly. Some weak and deficient organizations that are incapable of completing their task still have not been strengthened. Some leadership cadres who are incompetent or have committed grave mistakes involving personal integrity have still not been replaced or reassigned. The assigning of cadres still does not meet the requirements involved in building the new management structure. The impact and effectiveness of the assignment and promotion of cadres in strengthening the organization and stimulating the performance of the political task are still not what they should be. Why does this situation exist? Part of the cause lies with how the performance of the political task is being guided. Here, the problem is the lack of clearly defined, stable work guidelines and tasks at some places, the slowness with which policies and the management structure have been improved and so forth, as a result of which cadres have encountered many difficulties and constraints and are unable to develop their talents or complete their tasks.

Part of the cause lies in organization. Here, the problems are that the organizational apparatus is irrational, bureaucratic and cumbersome and duties and authority are not clearly defined, as a result of which cadres find it difficult to display their talents. Some places have not clearly defined what a rational leadership structure is, consequently, cadres are assigned in a manner that lacks coordination and are unable to augment and support one another.

However, the most direct cause is the shortcomings that exist in the selection and assignment of cadres. Of these shortcomings, which are rather large in number, the following three must be emphasized:

First, the view that some places take when evaluating and assigning cadres is not entirely correct. They do not evaluate, select or assign cadres in a manner that reflects close adherence or sensitivity to the new requirements of the political task. They do not have a thorough understanding of cadre standards or only look at a person's intelligence and resourcefulness while giving light attention to personal qualities and virtues. Or, they only take a cadre's degree or level of education into consideration while giving light attention to organizational skill and practical experience. Conversely, there have been cases in which localism, partialism or individualism have resulted in a cadre being evaluated incorrectly.

Secondly, there is either a lack of cadre planning or the quality of cadre planning is poor and inaccurate. The very thin status of reserve forces has led to the point where there are no alternatives regarding which cadres to promote or assign and cadres must be replaced many times, without much by way of higher quality accompanying these changes and even the new appointee sometimes being no better than his predecessor.

Thirdly, cadre management is still weak and has not been put on a regular basis. Cadres are not thoroughly screened and knowledge of who they are is not systematic. Therefore, the evaluation of cadres is lacking in detail and not marked by consensus. There are no specific regulations to insure that the assignment, selection and promotion of cadres are accurate and objective.

Correcting these shortcomings and weaknesses is a pressing demand if we are to do a better job of selecting and assigning cadres.

The New Management Structure and the Selection and Assignment of Cadres

We are making a bold shift from the old management structure, from bureaucracy and subsidization, to the new management structure. This shift is having a profound impact upon the development of the corps of cadres.

Man establishes the management structure and determines how it will be implemented. On the other hand, the activities of man, of cadres, are carried out within the framework of a given management structure and determined by that structure. A correct structure enables cadres to operate effectively and grow quickly. An irrational structure has a negative impact upon the development of cadres.

Under the old management structure with its bureaucracy and subsidization, cadres generally displayed the following weaknesses and shortcomings: they were passive, relied upon the upper level and performed only the jobs assigned by the upper level while sitting and waiting for the upper level to resolve difficulties that arose without daring to think or act on their own. Bound by many constraints and restrictions, cadres found it difficult to develop their talents. For the same reason, it was difficult to evaluate cadres and distinguish between cadres who were competent and those who were not.

During the past several years, we have been gradually dismantling the old management structure and are now gradually building and perfecting the new structure. This situation has had a rather marked impact upon the growth of the corps of cadres. Many district, provincial and municipal leadership cadres and many leaders of basic production and business units have made quite rapid progress. These cadres know how to creatively apply the line of the party, display a high degree of dynamism and initiative, dare to act and assume responsibility and have brought about positive socio-economic changes within their localities and basic units. This progress by the corps of cadres is due, to an important degree, to the changes--although only initial--that have occurred within the management structure.

On the other hand, the new management structure raises new demands concerning the evaluation, selection and assignment of cadres. The resolution of the 7th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee pointed out: "We must adopt a new outlook in order to correctly evaluate the personal qualities and the skills of cadres"; "we must quickly discover, utilize and promote cadres who have been trained and tempered and whose ways of thinking and working are consistent with the new management structure; and we must be determined to replace leadership and management cadres who are conservative, incompetent and lack the necessary personal qualities."

To insure the successful implementation of the new management structure, cadres must be selected and assigned in a manner consistent with the requirements of this new structure. It is necessary to replace conservative cadres who still cling to management by bureaucracy and subsidization and are incapable of growing and acclimating themselves to the new management structure.

Under the old management structure, with relatively stable plans handed down from above and relatively full amounts of supplies and raw materials being provided, some cadres were able to keep production operations on a regular basis and complete the task assigned by the upper level. But now, under the new management structure, leadership cadres must not only know how to manage production, but also how to do business in the socialist way, how to tap the four different sources of supplies and materials, how to organize cooperation and economic ties, must know domestic and international market tastes, possess the flexibility to discover and shift to the production of new product, etc.

Some cadres who previously performed their work rather well are now unable to meet the requirements of the new management structure, even though they remain good comrades. These persons must be reassigned to other jobs.

Meanwhile, there are some cadres who have blossomed and quickly grown and matured under the new management structure, who have a firm grasp of the party's line, are dynamic, responsive and creative, dare to assume responsibility, possess the sense of organization and discipline and perform their work effectively. Such cadres must be discovered and boldly promoted.

Improving the management structure is a large, complex and new job, a job that we must perform while groping along, gaining experience, correcting mistakes and gradually achieving perfection. We believe that once the new management structure has been perfected and management policies and regulations have been clearly defined, favorable conditions will exist for cadres to display their skills and the base will be laid for evaluating cadres more accurately as well as for preventing mistakes and negative actions on the part of cadres.

Under present conditions, difficulties cannot be avoided when evaluating cadres. One person considers a certain action to be correct while another maintains that it is incorrect. An action that "tears down fences" but is contrary to a long standing regulation might be praised by one person as dynamic and creative but criticized by someone else as reflecting a lack of organization and discipline! In this situation, the attitude that one must have when examining and evaluating a cadre must be very practical, very specific. A cadre's actions must be compared with the line and views of the party; the efficiency and quality of a cadre's work must be carefully analyzed; the results of a cadre's work must be examined from the standpoint of how well the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer are satisfied, etc. It is also necessary to examine a cadre's actions from the perspective of whether they reflect any attempt to take advantage of his position, any collusion, any personal gain and separate gain for his unit or are entirely in the interest of the common good.

Zealous cadres who adopt the new method of operating while we are still groping for answers and experimenting usually find it difficult to avoid problems and mistakes. Here, the attitude with which we treat cadres must be correct. On the one hand, we must criticize and correct mistakes; on the other hand, we must support and encourage correct and bold thinking and actions on the part of cadres.

We must overcome conservative, narrowminded attitudes and the old way of viewing cadres that exist as a result of the failure to fully perceive the cadre requirements raised by the new management structure. At the same time, we must correct the mistaken concept of the "new view," which leads us far from the fundamental principles of cadre work. Recently, when selecting and promoting cadres, some places emphasized intelligence, resourcefulness and the ability to handle situations well while giving light attention to political qualities and revolutionary virtues. As a result, they promoted and have been utilizing persons in whom complete political trust cannot be placed and cadres who lack integrity. These persons have taken advantage of their job position to do things that are wrong, to engage in embezzlement and waste and cause considerable harm to socialist property. When selecting and promoting cadres, we must still always adhere to the basic standards of revolutionary qualities and job skills. Leaders of production and business sectors and units, who control money, goods and materials of the state, must be persons who possess

fine political qualities and revolutionary virtues, must be "diligent, frugal, honest and just," must be "impartial." These are standards that cannot be compromised. Dynamism and resourcefulness must be dynamism and resourcefulness based on the lines and policies of the party. Placing emphasis upon dynamism and creativity is in no way in conflict with the requirement of displaying a high sense of organization and discipline. Leadership and management cadres must not only be skilled in technology and their profession, but must also possess the ability to lead and manage, must know how to build their organization, how to work with people, must be close to their collective, to the masses, must maintain internal unity and not, even though they are talented, be arrogant, subjective or despotic, disregard the organization or place themselves above the collective.

In implementing the new management structure, cadres are given broad responsibilities and authority; therefore, the leadership agencies on the upper level must inspect cadres more closely. Only in this way is it possible to promptly discover new factors, quickly reach conclusions that supplement and refine management policies and the management structure and possible to promptly correct and prevent mistakes and problems that can occur.

Cadre Planning and the Preparation of Future Cadres

We have been planning the assignment of leadership cadres of the localities and sectors for a few years now. Those places that have done a good job have recorded a number of positive results. However, cadre planning is not practiced everywhere, the quality of this planning is still low and many places still take a passive, patchwork approach to the assignment of cadres.

Leadership cadres do not simply appear, rather, they are developed through a very detailed process of selection, of challenging and training. The assignment of cadres to meet the requirements of immediate tasks must be closely coordinated with the preparation of cadres to meet long-range requirements. If we do not focus on meeting the requirements of immediate tasks, we will fail in the very work we are performing now. However, if the assignment of cadres today is not closely tied to the requirement of preparing leadership cadres for the future, we will soon find ourselves confused and unprepared.

Therefore, the assignment of cadres is not something that can be done as part of daily routine or on a case by case basis, but must be planned. Formulating leadership cadre planning that is of increasingly high quality is a matter of basic, long-range significance as well as a matter of pressing, practical and immediate importance in improving the quality of and returns from the assignment and utilization of cadres.

The key elements of cadre planning are selecting and properly preparing reserve cadres and providing them with elementary and advanced training. We have been selecting reserve cadres for the past several years but their numbers remain thin, the selection process has been lacking in accuracy and, in particular, measures have not been taken to provide these persons with the training and conditions needed for them to quickly and steadily grow and mature.

In order to evaluate and select cadres, in general, and reserve cadres, in particular, it is first of all necessary to be thoroughly familiar with cadre standards and the specific requirements that apply to each type leadership cadre in the different job positions that leadership cadres hold.

Reserve cadres, of course, must be younger than cadres who currently hold positions. They must have a relatively high level of education and it is even better if they have received basic training in political theory, economic management, state management or a specialized technical skill. However, of utmost importance is the need for reserve cadres to be persons who have been challenged in practical work, to be outstanding elements who emerge from within revolutionary movements of the masses, from within the struggle to perform the political tasks of the party.

The large corps of specialized, technical cadres is a very rich pool from which to select reserve cadres for leadership positions. Leadership cadres must also possess certain knowledge of specialized and technical fields. However, it is first of all necessary for leadership cadres to possess knowledge and skill in the fields of leadership and management. There is one incorrect tendency that must be avoided, namely, the tendency to readily promote cadres or select reserve cadres for leadership positions simply because they have a high level of education or possess a high academic degree. Persons who are skilled in a specialized or technical field but have no aptitude for leadership or management should be utilized and given a greater role within their specialized or technical field. There, they will make better contributions to the common cause than as a leadership cadre.

At present, from the standpoint of its structure, the corps of cadres is weak in a number of respects: the percentage of cadres who come from the background of workers is low; the number of women leadership cadres grew quite rapidly in the late 1960's but has increased slowly since the 1970's and even declined at many places; and the number of ethnic minority cadres has increased slowly, especially in highland areas.

Giving attention to increasing the number of these types of cadres is not merely of importance from the standpoint of the structure of the corps of cadres, but is also a matter of practical significance in improving the quality of this corps, in insuring that this corps fully reflects the revolutionary movement of the people, maintains close ties with the broad masses and possesses high fighting strength.

Of course, this work cannot be performed in a form for form's sake manner solely for the purpose of establishing a well proportioned structure. Rather, we must proceed on a sound footing and attach importance to quality in everything from the preparation and selection of cadres to their training with the aim of stimulating the performance of political tasks.

If bigoted, rigid, feudal or other such attitudes have recently prevented fully qualified cadres from worker backgrounds, female cadres or ethnic minority cadres from being promoted, their cases must be re-examined and corrective steps must be taken immediately. On the other hand, these types of cadres must be thoroughly prepared and fully trained so that they can complete

the task assigned to them when promoted to leadership positions. Therefore, the selection and training of these types of cadres must be planned.

Together with selecting reserve cadres in accordance with correct standards and guidelines, attention must be given to training them. Leadership cadres receive an important portion of their training in schools and classes. Here, it is necessary to equip them with basic knowledge of theory, politics, economic management and state management, with experiences that have been drawn from our country's revolution and with the latest experiences of the fraternal parties and countries.

Leadership cadres blossom and grow mainly within practical activities, within the revolutionary movements of the masses. The experience of recent years has shown that the leadership cadres of the economic sectors must, generally speaking, have a history of providing good leadership at basic production and business units. The key leadership cadres on the provincial level must, generally speaking, have a history of providing good leadership on the district level. If reserve cadres lack this practical experience, they should be sent to work on the lower level for a while.

Correctly combining stable job assignments with rational and planned job transfers is of very important significance in the development of leadership cadres. Of course, cadres must be given relatively stable job assignments so that they have time to delve into their work and gain experience. Shifting the job assignments of cadres to suit convenience is something that every effort must be made to avoid. On the other hand, leadership cadres must possess rather broad knowledge and experience, not only in economic management and state management, but even in party work, work among the masses, the overall leadership of a locality, the specific management of a sector, etc. As regards reserve cadres for leadership positions, plans should be adopted on the basis of the strengths and weaknesses of each person and the intended utilization of these cadres to rotate them among suitable job assignments (for example, from sectors on the provincial level to the district and vice versa, from ministry headquarters to enterprises and vice versa, from the party apparatus to the state apparatus and vice versa) to help them familiarize themselves with the necessary work of a future leader.

Correctly combining veteran and elderly cadres with new and young cadres is a very important cadre policy. When the strongpoints of these two types of cadres are combined and supplement one another, they help to increase the fighting strength of the corps of cadres and insure the successful performance of the party's political tasks. Moreover, correctly combining these two types of cadres is also of importance in training future cadres and insuring continuity and succession in the leadership of the party. New and young cadres who participate in leadership activities beside veteran and elderly cadres benefit from the knowledge and experience of these cadres, receive practical training and prepare themselves to undertake more difficult tasks when necessary. At some places, the standing committee of the party committee consists almost entirely of elderly, frail cadres. Such a situation is clearly not beneficial from the standpoint of preparing future cadres.

The preparation of future cadres is a very important and also very painstaking, detailed job. This job can only be performed well when the key leadership cadres of the various levels and sectors fully concern themselves with this work and give it their personal, complete attention.

Strengthening the Management of Cadres

Acquiring a systematic knowledge of who cadres are and evaluating cadres accurately are the first, important prerequisites to assigning, utilizing and training cadres correctly. It is not a simple or easy matter to evaluate a cadre in the midst of continuous movement and development in the situation and within diverse and complex political and social relations or to determine the true character of a cadre amidst very many phenomena and very many specific, separate things that have a bearing. We must make a very large effort to improve the quality of cadre management with a view toward acquiring a truly thorough understanding of who cadres are, evaluating cadres very accurately and, on this basis, assigning, promoting and utilizing cadres in a manner that is increasingly correct.

In evaluating cadres, it is first of all necessary to evaluate the results of their work and examine the personal qualities and skills displayed by them in the performance of political tasks. We must manage cadres in the process of their complying with the line of the party and performing the tasks assigned by the upper level. In other words, we must be thoroughly familiar with the political line and task of the party, with the policies of the upper level and have a clear understanding of the work performed by cadres as well as the advantages and difficulties experienced in this work and the specific circumstances and conditions under which it is performed so that we can correctly evaluate the results of their work, correctly evaluate their strengths and weaknesses.

The correct ideological attitude and method must be adopted and employed when evaluating cadres. This attitude is, above everything else, a pure and impartial attitude based entirely on the common interests of the party and the revolution. Everything done under the influence of individualism, localism, partialism, prejudice, bigotry or personal feelings leads to mistakes in the evaluation of cadres.

It is also necessary to establish an organization and regulations which insure that the evaluation, selection and promotion of cadres are carried out in a cautious, objective and accurate manner and that the factors of convenience and change are removed from cadre work. These regulations must clearly define the cadre management responsibilities of the party committee echelon and the relationships that exist between the party organization and state agency, between the vertical sector on the upper level and the locality, between the collective and the unit chief, between the leader of a special field and the agency party committee, etc.

That the party leads cadre work and provides unified management of the corps of cadres are a matter in the nature of a principle in cadre work. All key cadres of the various levels and sectors must be managed by a party committee in accordance with the party's regulations concerning the division of cadre

management functions and responsibilities. Some persons argue that the assignment of cadres is an aspect of organizing implementation and that because implementation is organized by administration agencies, they therefore have the right to determine how cadres are assigned and which cadres are promoted.

This argument is incomplete and not entirely correct. The assignment of the key leadership cadres of the various levels and sectors is more than just an aspect of organizing implementation. It is also of major importance in insuring the leadership role of the party and insuring the survival of the proletarian dictatorship. Moreover, the leadership function of the party does not stop at the adoption of the party's line, rather, the party has the responsibility of organizing implementation and must, above everything else, control the key aspects of organizing implementation, namely, the assignment of cadres and inspections. The purposes of emphasizing the role and responsibility of the party in the management of cadres are to insure that important matters regarding cadres are examined and weighed in a comprehensive manner, are decided accurately and insure that the party's cadre line is implemented in a consistent fashion and always conforms with the political line of the party.

Of course, state agencies do have the responsibility of coordinating with and assisting party committees in the management of cadres. The heads and leadership committees of agencies and units assign and inspect the daily work of cadres, praise them for jobs well done and criticize and correct their mistakes. These are important, everyday aspects of cadre management. And, it is on the basis of this management of everyday work that proposals are made to the party committee concerning the evaluation, assignment and promotion of cadres.

The heads of sectors, agencies and units must control cadre work on the basis of the requirement of closely tying the management of cadres to the performance of the political tasks. The leader controls the political task and is, therefore, able to gain a clear understanding of cadres and manage them closely. On the other hand, to control cadre work is to control the key element that insures the successful performance of the political task.

All important decisions regarding cadres (the evaluation, assignment and promotion of cadres and disciplinary action against cadres) must be decisions made by the collective of the leadership agencies. The principle of collectivism is an important principle in cadre work. Only collective decisions insure that the selection and assignment of cadres are accurate and objective and insure that internal unity and consensus are maintained. When decisions regarding cadre work are only made by one person, it is difficult to avoid being subjective and onesided.

Important decisions regarding cadres must be made democratically. An organizational structure and procedures must be established which guarantee that the masses, cadres and party members on the lower level, that the party chapters and party committees of the basic units can democratically participate in the process of evaluating, selecting and promoting cadres. Moreover, this practice also serves to increase the feeling of responsibility

on the part of cadres who are promoted to the lower level, to the masses within the unit of which they are in charge.

In the management of cadres, there is a need for stronger coordination between the upper echelon of the vertical sector and the local party committee echelon. The upper level of the vertical sector comes to know cadres through its management of their specialized work while the local party committee echelon comes to know cadres through its work of managing the members within its party organization. Only by strengthening the close coordination between the two sides is it possible to evaluate and utilize cadres correctly and avoid a situation in which one side wants to promote a cadre while the other side is considering disciplinary action against the very same person!

The corps of cadres of our party and state has grown into a large corps and the political tasks that these cadres must assume are very numerous and diverse. Therefore, bureaucratic centralism within the management of cadres and the practice of one entity embracing all aspects of cadre management must be eliminated. It is necessary to increase the assignment of cadre management functions and responsibilities so that we can keep more closely abreast and take swifter, more effective action in the performance of the political task at each place. At the same time, it is necessary to intensify inspections, promptly correct mistakes and insure that the cadre line and policy of the party are thoroughly understood and implemented in a consistent fashion from top to bottom, in a consistent fashion within all sectors and levels.

7809

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ALLOWING THE BASIC UNITS TO DISPLAY GREATER INITIATIVE AND CREATIVITY IN CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 52-57

[Article by Nguyen Van Tan]

[Text] Part I

The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee assessed the seriousness of the bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism and inertia within the economic management structure. As is the case with the production and business units of the other sectors of the economy, the basic units within the field of capital construction are experiencing the adverse impact of the negative factors that exist within this management structure. Moreover, due to the unique characteristics of the capital construction investment cycle and the widespread character of this field as a field in which many sectors work together, the basic construction units are bound by even more ties on the different echelons. Therefore, the requirements of changing and improving the management structure and undoing the ties that bind construction and assembly enterprises are not requirements that are faced in only one area of work or on one management echelon, but are common requirements facing the entire capital construction investment management system, in every area from planning, finances, credit, prices and the production and supplying of building materials to the regulations regarding labor.

Although they are basic production and business units, construction and assembly enterprises (which include independent enterprises, federated enterprises, combines, corporations and general corporations) are guided by the management agencies on the upper level primarily by means of administrative-organizational measures of a bureaucratic nature. Having lost nearly all the dynamism needed by a basic production unit, the attitude arises on the part of the enterprise of relying upon and waiting for the upper level to act. Under these conditions, economic accountability within the enterprise is merely a matter of form and the real payments, real expenses mode of operation--a typical feature of subsidization--become universal and controls all of the economic and financial operations of the enterprise.

In many cases, when assessing how well capital construction investment targets have been met, importance is only attached to the size of investments, not to

the economic returns from them and attention is only given to the responsibility of the design and construction-assembly units without examining the full role played by the units that participated in the construction investment process or the organizers and managers on the outside of this process. The situation surrounding the implementation of capital construction investment plans in recent years shows very many cases in which plans for the start of construction and deadlines for the inauguration of projects were not met and the organization of labor at worksites was subsequently disrupted, thus causing a loss of capital and materials and undermining production and management discipline, all primarily because of shortcomings in investment planning and preparations.

The shortcomings in the preparations made for investments and construction preparations are mainly shortcomings in planning. And, the responsibility for this problem lies not just with the system of management agencies on the various levels, but with the entire national economic management system. Practically all projects that are not priority projects take 3 to 7 years or longer to build; however, we only formulate capital construction investment plans 1 year at a time as part of the state budget. The sources of capital acquired by the localities on their own and the capital mobilized among the people under the guideline "the state and the people working together" are not balanced and are not fully reflected in the country's socio-economic development plan. Not assigning plans until the end of the 1st quarter and even then not providing adequate project plans and construction-assembly estimates for the volume of construction work that must be performed during the year, supplying materials at the wrong time or place, in the wrong quantity, of the wrong quality, at the wrong prices and so forth are universal and long standing phenomena. At present, there are hundreds of projects that are being constructed at a slow pace and being allocated capital in drips and drabs because these projects lack economic-technical argumentation or argumentation that has been approved. Financial and credit agencies are ordered to allocate capital, which they do reluctantly, and payment and the settlement of accounts take a long time because there are no project plans or estimates for the majority of construction work being performed.

Thus, under these circumstances, what must the director of a construction-assembly unit as well as the project management board--the organization that represents the investor--do to meet legal plan norms, to provide labor with adequate work, to insure that the enterprise has the money to pay public debts and pay its workers on time, to provide management based on economic accountability and operate at a profit?

Since the issuance of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, sources of self-acquired capital have been established and capital has been contributed by the people under the guideline "the state and the people working together" in many provinces, municipalities, precincts, districts and basic production and business units. With these sources of capital, many localities have constructed a number of useful projects, created jobs for social labor, met pressing needs in the production and daily lives of the local people and made significant contributions to the development of the national economy. However, everything from the definition of self-acquired capital to the mode by which capital contributed by the people is mobilized

and the structure under which this capital is managed and utilized must be resolved within the framework of changing and improving the capital construction management structure. At the same time, it is necessary to clearly define the responsibilities and authority of the construction-assembly enterprise from the standpoint of planning, labor and finances in a manner that is consistent with the level of development of the national economy and reflects the special characteristics of their production and construction operations.

Part II

The Capital Construction Management Statutes that were promulgated in June 1981 in accordance with Council of Ministers' Decree 232/CP define the basic principles that apply in the management of capital construction. On the basis of the characteristics of production and construction, the statutes divide the capital construction investment cycle into three consecutive and interconnected stages. The stage of investment preparations encompasses the basic investigation, the drafting of the preliminary project plan and exploration of the possibility of international cooperation and concludes with the writing of the construction project economic-technical argumentation. The construction preparations stage involves concretizing the economic-technical argumentation mainly in the form of the project technical design plan and the total amount of investment capital for the project based on the quotas and economic-technical norms of the state. The construction stage consists of constructing and assembling the project, test operation of the project, testing, acceptance and consignment of the project to the investor, payment and the settlement of capital and material accounts and setting the value of the fixed assets put into the national economy.

The division of this process into these stages is based on our experiences over a period of many years; at the same time, it reflects industrial procedures of an objective nature in production and construction, regardless of the technical level of construction or the degree to which construction is industrialized. The relative dividing line between one stage and the next and the extent to which the various types of work performed in one stage are performed in the preceding or following stage depend upon the level of development of science and technology in capital construction, the level of industrialization in capital construction and our organizational and management skills. At the same time, they also depend upon the characteristics of each type project and its size.

The work of making a construction product--a project--involves very diverse kinds of work and widespread cooperation among various sectors (even with foreign countries); therefore, it is also very complicated from the standpoint of the division of labor and cooperation. For this reason, in the improvement of the capital construction management structure, it is necessary to define in a scientifically based manner the responsibilities and authority, the obligations and interests of the sectors and levels in order to create a streamlined and smoothly coordinated, a highly effective and efficient management system, one that can manage the basic units and supports them well. This is a requirement of a comprehensive nature.

In capital construction, the basic units are the survey, project planning and project design organizations, the construction and assembly units and the supply organizations. To build projects in an orderly manner, in exact accordance with standards, codes and economic-technical quotas and on schedule, we must establish a system of management organizations characterized by a common feeling of responsibility among basic units for meeting the objectives of building projects quickly, well and at reasonable costs. To meet the requirement of improving the management being provided within the various sectors and levels, we must, on the one hand, dismantle the obstacles being posed by bureaucracy and subsidization and grant the basic units authority that is commensurate with their responsibilities; on the other hand, we must correct and prevent the lack of organization and discipline while attaching importance to developing direct ties among the basic units.

We cannot accept the formation of an unnecessary superstructure like the intermediary agencies within the apparatus of the sectors on the central, provincial and municipal levels (to some extent, the national production combines are "mini-sectors" within some ministries) that now possess all the authority to organize the production and business of subordinate basic units and turn the basic unit, which is an economic unit that has the status of an individual under the law, into a unit that must "beg" for materials and finances because it has no real authority of its own based on control of its materials and finances and the management of its labor.

The specifics involved in broadening the authority and responsibility of the basic units in capital construction face the functional agencies of the state on the central level as well as the provincial and municipal levels with many problems that must be resolved. The first and most pressing problem is the need to improve planning along lines that develop the potentials of the basic units, the sectors and the localities well and encompass all of the capital construction work included in all three stages. In order for the basic units to be able to take the initiative in formulating their plans, thus laying the basis for signing construction and assembly and material supply contracts and making preparations for construction, they must be able to express their opinions to the level above them concerning the size of their plan and all the conditions needed to implement their plan, which includes some participation by the basic unit in determining the balance between supplies and needs contained within legal norms, and the level immediately above the basic unit must assign its plan to the basic unit earlier and at the same time each year. Survey, design and construction-assembly plans must be combined. Construction and assembly are the central element in capital construction planning. The formulation, approval and assignment of plans to the basic units must be coordinated among the agencies that make investments, contracting agencies and supply and transport agencies. Planning by sector and planning by administrative-territorial unit must be improved and we must eventually achieve complete capital construction planning by sector and territory.

It is necessary to apply the principle of democratic centralism in improving the methods of planning by closely combining the legal nature of plans and dynamism in the changes made to the system of legal norms. The number of legal norms must be reduced and directed norms must be supplemented with the aim of heightening the responsibility of investors for the returns from

capital and enabling the construction and assembly enterprise to control its own finances, produce and operate its business at a profit and fulfill its obligation to the state.

To raise the level of planning at basic units, concerned agencies must periodically evaluate the actual potentials of basic units. We must stop the practice of forcing basic units to accept plans that far exceed their capabilities, that are not balanced with the conditions needed to implement plans and must take precautions against basic units "saving" some of their capacity in order to perform additional work outside the plan. The management agencies on the upper level must make it possible for basic units to adopt the new planning method and take the initiative and must encourage basic units to develop direct ties with the units of the various sectors within the territory under the guideline of creating factors of development in depth, rationally organizing the production and construction process and making efficient use of the various sources of allocated capital.

Improving the financial and credit system is a very pressing demand, especially with regard to construction and assembly organizations. Although financial and credit procedures have recently been revised and amended with regard to investments in capital construction, these changes are not sufficient enough to enable the basic units to take the initiative regarding their finances and practice economic accountability. Some points in the policies and regulations governing finances and credit are inconsistent and not specific. The management functions of the finance and banking systems overlap in some areas and are not clearly defined, thus causing many problems while opening major loopholes in the allocation of capital and payments, such as the granting of loans and the repayment of debts outside the plan and the use of cash in ways that violate regulations. Among contractors and cooperative construction teams, "greasing palms" is a widespread practice.

Therefore, the requirement faced in improving the financial and credit systems within capital construction is to resolve the pressing problems that now handcuff basic units, such as the lack of a mechanism for managing and utilizing self-acquired capital and capital mobilized among the people in investments in capital construction. The procedures for allocating capital, granting loans and withdrawing money must be improved and improved in a way that does not inconvenience basic units. The profit margin and the percentage of profits remaining at the enterprise must be raised. At the same time, regulations must be adopted on deposits in the various enterprise funds that give priority to the production development and technical improvements fund and do not limit the size of the bonus fund. Loans for the unfinished construction work of construction and assembly organizations must be based on setting a ceiling on the volume of unfinished work at each project. At the same time, the ceiling on liquid capital must be revised so that it is consistent with the supply of materials and interest rates must be established that encourage basic units to improve the organization of their production and quickly turn over their liquid capital. We must improve the method of payment for completed construction projects and promulgate "technical cutoff point" regulations to lay the basis for payment for complex projects that take many years to build, thereby correcting the problem of basic units lacking operating capital because of the slowness with which payments are made. To

encourage survey and construction-assembly organizations to make highly efficient use of their fixed assets and maintain and improve their technology in a manner consistent with the stages of development of the industrialization of construction, basic units should be allowed to retain the major portion of capital depreciation and the tax on the value of fixed assets.

Together with improving the financial and credit systems, we must also make improvements in the areas of prices, estimates, payments and the settlement of accounts within capital construction. To insure that costs are reasonable and remove "negative costs" from construction and assembly estimates, thereby insuring that project construction costs correctly reflect the expenditure of the social labor needed to build the project, project design organizations must be made more responsible for working up accurate estimates. At the same time, the responsibility of contractors must be closely tied to this work so that estimates are in line with construction conditions at the site. In view of the fact that the supply of materials for construction is still unstable and prices are still changing, special measures must be taken in the management of prices to insure that strict price discipline is maintained; at the same time, compensation for prices should be permitted within the scope of regulations.

In order for contractor organizations to have time to prepare for the construction of large projects involving complicated construction techniques, general construction and assembly contractors should be allowed to participate in the formulation of economic-technical argumentation in the areas related to the importation of materials, construction equipment, the project site and other areas.

In order to heighten the responsibility of investors and construction-assembly contractors and make them responsible to each other, construction-assembly contractor units should have the right to refuse to sign contracts if investors do not provide all the necessary conditions. In cases in which contracts must be signed without investors providing all of the conditions that they are responsible for providing, contractor units should be paid the costs incurred by the lack of these conditions by investors. The promulgation of regulations on the assignment and acceptance of construction-assembly contracts with the aim of defining the responsibilities and authority of the related parties is an urgent necessity.

Widespread use must be made of the final product contracting system within capital construction, considering this to be an effective management measure because it allows us to bring into play, in a practical way, the collective ownership role of the individual laborer in production and the distribution of the results of labor. To successfully implement the use of final product contracts and piecework wages, it is necessary to rationalize the organization of labor at basic units and strengthen the units that accept contracts. Within construction, the most progressive form of contracts is contracts for complete project items or small projects; in addition, contracts for a particular stage of construction and assembly work and construction "production line" contracts can also be utilized. It is also necessary to apply wage contracts, contracts on the various types of wage subsidies and contracts on management costs to the units that accept contracts and necessary

to establish a system of bonuses and penalties to encourage each laborer and each collective of laborers to concern themselves with the final results of their work.

Part III

The issue of increasing the authority and responsibility of the basic units within capital construction also depends upon the results achieved in restructuring and reorganizing production, adjusting the division of management functions and responsibilities within capital construction and strengthening the capital construction management apparatus of the various sectors and levels.

In order for the basic units within the field of capital construction to grow and successfully carry out their tasks of investing in and constructing projects, efforts to restructure and reorganize production, improve the division of management functions and responsibilities and reorganize the capital construction management apparatus of the various sectors and levels in the years ahead must meet the following several requirements:

First, the principle of construction-assembly labor being divided by specialized sector must be combined with management by territory. In areas in which construction is concentrated, survey, project design, construction-assembly, supply and transport cooperative teams should be set up. At the same time, steps should be taken to correct the problem of many different basic units in many different sectors (of both the central and local levels) performing the same work. We must eventually apply a model that assigns to one organization the function of managing the entire sector within a specific area in order to coordinate the various types of construction work such as distributing the "flow of water" and expand the ties between the basic units of the central level and the locality that are located within the same area.

Secondly, while strengthening a number of specialized construction and assembly sectors on the central level, it is necessary to accelerate the assignment of responsibilities to the provinces and municipalities for the management of capital construction and construction and assembly tasks in a manner consistent with the responsibility that local administrations have with regard to investments in capital construction and social life within their territories. In view of the responsibilities they have been assigned, such as managing construction in accordance with planning, managing the land used in construction, managing architectural activities and the environment, managing and operating urban projects, managing unit prices, managing the local supply of building materials, managing daily services and so forth, the local administrations play a very large role in providing a thorough understanding and organizing the implementation of economic-technical positions and policies within the field of capital construction, a role that no ministry or sector can replace.

Determining the size of the production-construction organization within administrative-territorial units (the provinces, districts and villages) is a matter that must now be addressed. Attention must be given to appropriately strengthening and developing the construction and assembly forces of the state

in the provinces and districts, especially in the localities of the Central Highlands and the Mekong Delta, in order to provide forces to serve as the nucleus of the effort to combine the utilization and transformation of building contractors as well as assist construction cooperatives.

Thirdly, we must gradually establish a stable framework for the planned development of the construction and assembly capacity of the specialized sectors on the central level and local state-operated forces in keeping with capital construction investment tasks in the years ahead. On the basis of existing organizations, such as the survey and construction-assembly corporations, general corporations, federated enterprises and combines of the ministries and localities, it is necessary to standardize production-construction units by type of construction-assembly work within each specialized sector and on the basis of the construction needs of each locality.

We must research ways to improve the various forms of production combines and accelerate the pilot project in science-production combines within construction.

Fourthly, we must restructure and strengthen the basic industrial units within construction and assembly work (those that produce steel members, concrete, lumber and so forth) with the aim of making full use of the relatively large capacity of these units. The management of construction vehicles, machinery and equipment must be reorganized and a rational division of labor must be established between the ministries and localities so that the utilization and repair of vehicles, machinery and equipment can be coordinated within each area. The construction machine network within the sectors and localities must be restructured on the basis of rational planning, a rational division of labor and a rational assignment of management responsibilities in order to create the conditions for the machine forces of the specialized construction sectors to grow and meet the needs to repair construction vehicles, machinery and equipment and produce common tools.

The level of perfection and the vitality of an economic management system are ultimately determined by the system's human factor. Therefore, the application of management policies and measures must first be designed to tap the initiative and management skill of the various levels, especially the basic level, which is where projects that make up the material-technical bases of socialism are built. Here, laborers must be motivated by means of material incentives and political education and their ability to exercise socialist collective ownership must be cultivated. Currently policies concerning the material benefits offered to the laborers in capital construction and support of their material and spiritual lives do not provide sufficient incentive for high quality work, do not cultivate love of one's occupation and do not support the efforts to attract social labor, especially youths, to this important economic front.

7809

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MARKET AND DISTRIBUTION-CIRCULATION

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[Article by Nguyen Mai]

[Text] Part I

The market exists as an objective entity closely tied to the existence and development of commodity production and commodity circulation. The market is the specific field in which commodity circulation occurs, is the combination of all the conditions needed to achieve a social product.

The "market issue" is essentially the question of how the products produced are put to use, that is, a question of finding on the market one unit of the social product that can, from the standpoint of use value and value, be traded for another unit of the social product.

The category "market economy" is organically related to the category "commodity economy" and is under the control of the economic laws of the production and circulation of commodities, such as the law of value, the law of supply and demand... However, commodity production as well as the market within each country are, at the same time, under the control of the economic laws that govern the country's mode of production. Placing sole emphasis upon either one of these two types of economic laws--the laws of commodity production and the laws of each mode of production--results in either negating the universal nature and the common requirements of commodity production and trade or in negating the special characteristics of commodity production and trade within each mode of production. The history of the development of the socialist economy holds examples of the harm caused by both of these incorrect tendencies to production and consumption.

The fundamental characteristics of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, especially the existence of many different socio-economic segments and an economy in which small-scale production with its backward technology, low labor productivity, narrow division of social labor and so forth still predominates, are clearly evident on the market.

A bitter class struggle is underway on the market between socialist commerce and private commerce, in which speculators, hoarders and the bourgeoisie in commerce are the subjects of our efforts, and between the establishment of inventory and control by the socialist state over capitalist spontaneity and the acts of sabotage from within and without against this inventory and control.

In recent years, a situation that is not normal in the course of advancing to socialism has developed on our country's market: the portion of the market controlled by the planned market(1) has declined markedly while the unplanned market has expanded, with speculation, black marketing and illegal businesses becoming universal phenomena.

In the North, following the virtual completion of socialist transformation (1960), state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives accounted for nearly 90 percent of the total volume of retail goods circulated on the social market. By late 1983, this figure had dropped to only a little more than 60 percent, a distinct step backwards.

In the South, in late 1978, after spending 3 years developing socialist commerce and transforming private commerce, the planned market accounted for 30 percent of the total volume of retail goods circulated on the social market. This figure remained virtually unchanged until the end of 1983.

In many fields of business, such as the restaurant sector, the services, fresh food products, dried agricultural products and industrial goods were received as gifts or sent by workers from overseas..., private commerce still strongly controls the activities of the market.

There are now between 1.2 and 1.5 million private merchants nationwide. Meanwhile, there are roughly 300,000 workers employed within socialist commerce. These figures reflect two irrational situations: one is that with production and consumption being what they are today, having nearly 3 percent of the population and 6.5 percent of the social labor force working within the field of commodity circulation is far more than are needed; the other is that the comparison of forces between the two sides is clearly not to the advantage of socialism. If the number of workers directly engaged in sales and procurements within the socialist commerce apparatus is 120,000 to 130,000 (they generally account for about 40 percent of the total work force), they equal only 10 percent of the number of private merchants (because the majority of private merchants buy and sell their products themselves).

Since the complete liberation of the South, the expansion of commodity trade between the two zones has helped to stimulate production and consumption within each locality. This is clearly evident on the Hanoi market: consumers have been demanding more goods of higher quality, better style and better construction; producers have displayed dynamism in accommodating themselves to changes in the market, etc. However, the opposite side of this issue has generally taken the form of a contemporary and pressing phenomenon that must be resolved: speculation and black marketing have developed and become more

sophisticated and many bourgeoisie, instead of operating businesses in industry, are operating many different kinds of businesses in commerce and the services.

At present, the bourgeoisie in commerce are using small merchants to compete in procurements and sales with socialist commerce. They have established direct economic ties with farmers and handicraftsmen. They are siphoning products from a number of state-operated enterprises and taking advantage of the difference in prices for the same product to engage in long-distance business transactions, to buy products where they are produced and deliver them directly to customers and to speculate and hoard. They are using dishonest and illegal methods to amass huge profits. In collaboration with foreign reactionaries, reactionaries within our country have been taking advantage of our lax management and control of the market to achieve their targets of disrupting the market and weakening our country's economy.

At present and for a number of years to come, supply will continue to lag behind demand on our country's market and minimum essential needs will still not be met. The underlying causes of this situation stem from the level of production and consumption within an economy that has yet to be developed and the need to overcome the aftermath of the long war. This situation has been exacerbated by shortcomings in the organization of production and the relationships between the central economy and the local economy in such fields as exports and imports, prices, the budget and so forth as well as in the organization of commodity circulation, with the disorder caused by these shortcomings occurring on the planned market.

These problems of the market are reflected in a very high rate of increase in the prices of all goods and have disrupted socio-economic order in various ways. This is particularly evident in the very irrational situation that exists concerning the distribution of income among the various strata of the population. Workers, whose main source of income is their wages, are unable to maintain a minimum standard of living. Working farmers, although their standard of living is, generally speaking, not high, have seen their cash income increase markedly as a result of continuous increases in the agricultural and food product procurement prices paid by the state (and even on the unplanned market). The incomes of those strata whose income is already high, especially private merchants, persons who earn their livings illegally, speculators and black market operators, have increased as their use of illegal and dishonest methods has increased.(2)

Part II

For many years, one situation has kept reoccurring: every time we turn our efforts to transforming and managing the market and just when the market seems to be devoid of their presence, like some naturally occurring phenomenon, private merchants reappear and begin competing with socialist commerce. As a result, we have been forced to constantly deal with the market issue as a pressing socio-economic issue.

Therefore, to insure the total victory of socialist transformation and the building of the socialist market, attention must be given to the following matters of basic importance:

First, the transformation and building of the market must be placed within an organic relationship with the socio-economic issues that exist in the initial stage of the period of transition, must be closely tied to transformation and construction within agriculture, industry and the handicraft trades. These two types of work must be carried out simultaneously in order to support and stimulate each other's development and must constantly be treated as a system, not isolated from or treated as the opposite of each other.

Secondly, while transforming and building the market, attention must always be given to economic returns and to helping stimulate the development of production and gradually improving the lives of the working people. It would be senseless for socialist commerce to only give its attention to dominating the social market, because this can be accomplished by restricting the scope of trade on the market. The main thrust must be to closely tie the market to production and consumption and insure that it is always being expanded in line with the pace and level of development of production and consumption.

Thirdly, transformation and construction are two closely related types of work. Of these two types, primary emphasis must always be placed upon construction. The problem we face now is how to bring socialist commerce to the point where it takes the place, effectively takes the place, of the activities of private merchants. This can only be achieved when the system of organizations is deployed more rationally; when the number of commerce cadres has been increased and the structure of the labor force within commerce is more rational; when a good relationship is established between state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives as well as among the various commerce systems of the different ministries; and when a business structure has been established that is well suited to the realities of our country and permits socialist commerce to emerge in the market in the form of strong organizations that are fully capable of controlling every market activity.

Fourthly, the transformation and building of the market demand that the state adopt a consistent attitude toward the various participants in the market and express this attitude through market policies encompassing taxes and income, prices, money, payments and the management of goods, as well as through suitable modes and forms of transformation for each product sector within each area of the country.

On the basis of the matters presented above, the transformation and building of the market demands that each party committee echelon and level of the administration provide management that is specific in nature, especially with regard to the forms of transformation and the stages of development in the restructuring of each product sector to suit the specific circumstances of the locality. One matter in the nature of a principle is the need for a single view concerning the necessity to wage a continuous struggle by means of state law against speculation, black marketing, the manufacture of fake goods and illegal businesses and the necessity to quickly remove the bourgeoisie from commerce by means of every possible measure that can be taken because, from

the perspective of every aspect of the situation, the activities of the bourgeoisie in commerce only serve to disrupt the market and create both economic and social negative phenomena. Speculators, hoarders and the bourgeoisie in commerce are drawing the middle strata, especially small merchants, into opposition against inventory and control by the socialist state. Therefore, the fundamental and most important factor in winning victory in this class struggle is that the socialist state, which possesses tremendous economic forces and the power of the proletarian dictatorship system, can and must employ a host of policies and measures to attract the middle strata to the path of socialism, isolate those who are the target of the struggle and continuously attack them until a decisive victory has been won and the absolute superiority of socialism on the market has been established.

The most difficult aspect of the transformation of the market lies in the policy toward small merchants. At present, the number of small merchants is very large and the makeup of their forces is very complex.⁽³⁾ At the same time, there is an excess of social labor, consequently, many difficulties have been encountered in trying to shift the majority of small merchants to production. However, in those localities that have the conditions needed to expand production and develop additional sectors and trades within industry and the handicraft trades or still have land to be cleared, this must be considered the main approach to be taken in the transformation of small merchants. Over the long range, in the next several 5-year plans, it is necessary, on both the central and local levels, to include small merchants within the social labor force of each area so that practical measures can be taken to shift them to work within the services and quickly expand the services undertaken by society through suitable forms of organization, forms which insure that their income is commensurate with their skill and expenditure of labor and strengthen the state's control of the market.

The experience of many localities has confirmed the need to employ traditional forms of organization in the transformation of small merchants. These organizations are various forms of joint businesses between a socialist commerce organization and a certain number of small merchants within product sectors in which small merchants are still needed to develop sources of goods or to distribute goods. Which mode of joint business is selected depends upon the specific sector or trade within each locality; in principle, however, socialist commerce must occupy the position of leadership and must know how to orient all of the various forms of transition toward the path to socialism. Therefore, when employing transitional forms of organization in the transformation of small merchants, socialist commerce must establish every condition needed to shift the majority of small merchants to production and to activities within the services.

The transformation of the market is now facing us with the need to take integrated economic, educational and administrative measures. As is the case with other economic matters, the basic issue regarding market activities is that of economic strength. Victory in the transformation of the market depends directly upon the state controlling goods and money as well as upon state-operated commerce making rational use of its material forces and taking the requirements of the market into consideration. Therefore, restructuring

the planned market internally and removing the constraints imposed by policies and the business system so that socialist commerce, which includes both state-operated commerce and collective commerce, controls and takes the initiative in regulating the relationship between money and goods and supply and demand on the market are a pressing requirement.

Together with placing economic measures in a position of foremost importance, full attention must be given to educating the forces participating in the market and promoting mass movements, especially among women, to participate in the struggle to transform and manage the market as well as participate in supervising and inspecting the activities of socialist commerce. At the same time, timely administrative measures must be taken to deal with each violation of market management regulations and rules, which must include imposing the severest forms of punishment upon those who speculate, hoard and disrupt the market.

Part III

The transformation of the market is closely related to the performance of the tasks of the various economic sectors within the fields of distribution and circulation.

Money, goods and prices are the three basic factors of the market. They move within a reciprocal relationship, a relationship of mutual dependency. Supply and demand change with changes in prices and the price ratio relationship among the different types of products. Conversely, changes in market prices accompany changes in the different tendencies encompassed within the supply-demand relationship. Consequently, the economic sectors that have the function of circulating goods and circulating money must recognize that supply and demand and the relationship among money, goods and prices are in the nature of laws so that they can take the initiative in regulating the social market.

One situation deserving of concern today is the serious separation that exists between the circulation of goods and the circulation of money. The turnover rate of money has gradually slowed. In 1984, the turnover rate was only one-half of what it was in 1980. The volume of money being issued has increased greatly. Meanwhile, the state has been unable to control the distribution of money among the various strata of the population and the phenomenon of an increasingly large amount of money leaving the flow of circulation is bringing strong pressure to bear upon the market.

In view of our country's current economic situation, issuing a certain percentage of additional money is necessary and it is difficult to avoid temporary situations that cause instability on the market. However, we must consider what the necessary limit on this issuance of money is. If all ramifications are not taken into consideration, instability on the market can sometimes begin with the application of inappropriate monetary measures that have a negative and lasting impact, the consequences of which we must pay a rather high economic and social price to overcome.

The central point in the circulation of money must lie in rapidly increasing the turnover rate of money. Everyone knows about the formula of K. Marx concerning the relationship between the volume of money in circulation and the rate at which money circulates. These are two proportionate quantities. If we double the rate of circulation (that is, restore the rate achieved in 1980) and if the factors pertaining to goods do not change, we will reduce by one-half the amount of money in circulation or will achieve twice the returns from the same amount of money. The measure of a fundamental nature by which this requirement can be met is to establish coordination between the circulation of goods and the circulation of money from the central to the local levels to insure coordination in terms of place and time between the volume of money put into circulation and the corresponding expansion of the circulation of goods on the market. It is regrettable that at the very time there is a shortage of goods on the market, goods are "backlogged" at production enterprises and commerce warehouses simply because of shipping-receiving and payment procedures and regulations. While one locality lacks money for the procurement of agricultural and food products, another locality has money frozen in its various funds, money that cannot be put to use in the circulation of goods. As a result, situations develop in which one place has more money than it needs and another place lacks the money it needs when all that is required for money to be utilized in a manner that yields larger returns is a timely information system and a flexible, efficient approach.

One situation deserving of concern is that many localities have not given their attention to the distribution of money among the various strata of the population. For many years, as a result of not using the "monetary receipts and expenditures of the population balance sheet" or the "purchasing power and goods available balance sheet," they have been unable to take effective steps to control the money lying stagnant within the population.

In recent years, prices on the social market (including the planned market) have risen at a very high rate: 1977: 18.6 percent; 1978: 20.9 percent; 1979: 19.4 percent; 1980: 25.2 percent; 1981: 66.1 percent; and 1982: 78.5 percent. Prices on the planned market, which did not change significantly between 1978 and 1980, rose by 102 percent in 1981 and another 95 percent in 1982, as a result of which the social market price index for the 2 years 1981 and 1982 was higher than the unplanned market.

Because the comprehensive price changes enacted in 1981 and 1982 were not well coordinated and the consequences of this policy were not foreseen, the established objectives of enabling the state to control goods, control the flow of money and regulate the market have, generally speaking, not been met. The lesson to be learned here is that when adjusting price levels and the ratios among the prices of goods, it is necessary to take into consideration the entirety of the relationship between supply and demand, the relationship among money, goods and market prices and necessary to orient the changes that must be made in prices as well as price ratios toward those segments of the population whose income the state must regulate in order to create a rational situation in the distribution and redistribution of income among the various strata of the population.

In view of the current circumstances of our country's economy, the state has adopted the consistent policy of giving the localities (provinces and districts) and the basic units greater authority while raising the responsibility of each level with regard to implementing the general regulations of the central level. With regard to the market, especially with regard to applying the regulations on the prices of agricultural and food products as well as export goods and industrial goods, the localities must maintain strict price discipline in exact accordance with the prices and price framework that they are permitted to apply by the central level. There must be a determination to not allow a situation to develop in which each place raises prices a little on its own, as a result of which prices rise in general and, in the end, more difficulties are encountered in transforming the market.

When applying business support prices, commerce organizations must always be conscious of the need to regulate the market and not chase after market prices. To accomplish this, we must closely coordinate expanding the business of socialist commerce with transforming and reducing the scope of activity of private merchants, establishing direct trade relations between the state and farmers and removing private merchants from the field of wholesale transactions.

Transforming the market is also very closely related to one of the foremost targets of our country's economy: stabilizing and gradually improving the living conditions of the working people, most importantly cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. This target must be met first within production, which includes structuring production correctly and adopting correct guidelines during each planning period in order to achieve a high rate of development and produce many products for the market.

The market, the mechanism of which is closely tied to and has a reciprocal relationship with both production and consumption, plays a major role in guaranteeing the real income of the worker and achieving a rational redistribution of income among the various strata of the population. Here, two problems are arising: one, insuring, by means of a number of necessary measures, that the working people are not controlled by market prices and that their real income does not decline; and, two, the need for the state to take well coordinated steps to effectively regulate the redistribution of income among the various strata of the population, which is currently irrational and causing many negative social phenomena. These two problems are closely tied to implementing a consistent policy on the supply of a number of essential goods to the working people and to enacting a two-price policy under which high prices have the effect of supporting the struggle to transform the market and reduce the profit margins and income of private merchants.

Therefore, making fundamental improvements to the system through which goods are supplied to cadres, manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces, improvements which meet the basic requirements of providing a full supply of high quality products on time, must be considered the foremost task of the home trade and grain sectors. Depending upon production conditions, other necessary goods can be included among those supplied at stable prices in order to insure, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, that 70 percent of the income of the working people is not affected by

market prices (the remaining 30 percent of their income will be periodically adjusted on the basis of the cost of living index).

While taking steps to guarantee the supply of rationed goods, socialist commerce must quickly solidify and strengthen its organization and apparatus, modify its business structure to suit the market...in order to quickly expand its business and effectively take the place of private merchants on the market. Only when socialist commerce controls the market and is fully capable of regulating the activities of the market along socialist lines can we control prices, stabilize market prices, succeed in redistributing the income of the various strata of the population and create the conditions for stabilizing the socio-economic situation within our country.

In the final analysis, the essence of socialist construction as well as the transformation and building of the market lies in the socio-economic returns they produce.

In commerce, it is absolutely necessary to calculate profit and loss and socialist commerce must always insure that its business operations produce revenues and profit. As we know, commerce profits originate in the value created within production and are expressed as the difference between the purchasing price and the selling price. The commerce sector must learn how to earn a much larger profit by cutting circulation costs as much as possible. It is only within this scope that a rational price differential exists and only within this scope that the utilization of this price differential can be considered an art. We cannot tolerate the importation of tobacco, strong liquor and luxury items for the purpose of earning profits through the difference in buying and selling prices as this is a practice which, over the long-range, creates factors that impede production, thereby reducing the source of the price differential used by commerce.

Carrying out socialist transformation on the market is a pressing task. At the same time, it is work of a constant and long-range nature. We should not think that this problem can be completely resolved simply by conducting one campaign during a particular stage of development. The class struggle will always be an issue within the field of the market until socialism wins total victory.

FOOTNOTES

1. To be more precise, we are calling that portion of the market in which socialist commerce does business the planned market and calling that portion of the market opposed to socialist commerce the unplanned market instead of referring to them as the organized market and the free market as is current practice. (N.M.)
2. According to data compiled through an investigation, there are many cloth businesses in Hanoi that do 1 million dong in business each month. Their taxable business income, as stated at the time of license registration, is only one-fourth or one-fifth of their actual business income. If their profit margin is 10 percent (which is no doubt lower than their actual profit margin), these businesses earn an income of roughly 100,000 to

120,000 dong per month. There are thousands of businesses that earn a monthly income of 50,000 to 60,000 dong.

3. Whereas the stratum of small merchants was relatively homogeneous during the period of socialist transformation in the North (1958-1960), the social makeup of small merchants today is very complex. Many retired cadres and many families whose sons or daughters are cadres or troops also participate in trade.

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APPLYING THE LAW OF VALUE IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 66-70, 98

[Article by Tran Ho]

[Text] The realities of socialist construction in the fraternal countries and our country have clearly proven that, under socialism, the application of the law of value occupies a very important position, especially in the initial stage of the period of transition, when the economy still consists of many different segments. Within socialist commodity production, the law of planned development, the law of higher labor productivity, the law of value and the other economic laws are interrelated and combine to form an entity. Anyone who denies the impact of the law of value must bear very painful and bitter consequences in production and everyday life.

Outmoded, conservative thinking that seeks to maintain the mode of management characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization is totally unsuited to our country's economy at this point in time. The practices of not calculating production costs or profits, not calculating economic returns and investing in construction at any price have resulted in large losses in production and business.

With regard to newly constructed projects, there are many enterprises that have produced good returns. However, due to the failure to calculate energy, supply, raw material and market conditions and the failure to calculate profit and loss, the construction of some enterprises has been unnecessary and carried out without all the required conditions being met, thereby causing considerable economic harm and exacerbating the serious imbalance in the relationship between capital construction and the standard of living.

For a long time, we failed to attach appropriate importance to managing money and managing prices. Although production conditions and the purchasing power of the dong had changed, we maintained fixed prices, maintained basically "stable" prices. When this shortcoming was criticized, a number of other mistakes arose: prices were hastily adjusted without careful deliberation, without taking well coordinated measures and, in particular, without promptly improving wages. The price adjustments made in 1981 were still not appropriate, were not consistent with the steadily declining purchasing power

of the dong and, as a result, necessitated many additional adjustments that have adversely affected the stability of production and the circulation of goods. The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum pointed out that it is necessary in the immediate future to "urgently adjust the price system of the state in a well planned manner so that prices more fully reflect the necessary expenditure of social labor and are consistent with the purchasing power of the dong."(1)

The above mentioned shortcomings were committed because, for many years, we made the following mistakes in our understanding and application of the law of value:

First, we did not establish a correct relationship between goods and money and did not fully implement the principle of trading goods on the basis of parity of value; therefore, we applied the administrative and subsidization method of management. We did not fully calculate production costs or profits and, instead of implementing correct accounting procedures, we practiced "accounting in name only, in a way that did not correctly reflect the true nature of the results of production and business."(2)

Secondly, prices were not set on the basis of an economy that still consists of many different segments and, at times, our country was considered as being in the stage of socialism and our economy as consisting of only the state-operated economy and the collective economy. There was a lack of specific management policies concerning the non-socialist segments of the economy.

Thirdly, in the process of setting the prices of the state, we failed to give appropriate attention to supply and demand on the market. At present, the relationship between supply and demand is seriously imbalanced and reflects a very acute contradiction between production and consumption. Supply and demand is a category that is closely and permanently tied to the existence of a commodity economy. Moreover, in our country, which is in the initial stage of the period of transition, the supply-demand relationship is an even more important factor in the market and prices. Supply and demand are tight but we have long failed to give this factor appropriate attention when setting prices. And, also because of this, we have failed to fully recognize the scope and strength of the law of value as evidenced through the relationship between supply and demand on the market.

Fourthly, when applying the law of value, we did not have a dialectical understanding of the overall movement of the various economic laws. Within the overall relationship among these laws, the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned development play the dominant role. We must apply the law of value in an integrated manner within the close relationship that it shares with the law of planned development, the law of higher labor productivity, the law of distribution in accordance with labor, etc. The issue of prices is related to money, goods, wages and profits. Consequently, we cannot resolve each of these problems in an independent and isolated manner but must take many well coordinated and integrated measures. For this reason, the Party Central Committee concentrated on studying prices, wages and financial, credit and monetary activities with the aim of resolving these problems in a well coordinated manner.

Economic laws exist as an entity within the national economy. They have a reciprocal impact upon and control one another. When the socialist segment of the economy is strong, the law of planned development controls the impact of the law of value and, conversely, when the application of the law of value is expanded in scope and intensity, the planning of the national economy surely cannot be carried out smoothly.

The law of value has a very important impact upon production. Fluctuations in market prices have the effect of stimulating or impeding the development of production and the circulation of goods. Therefore, the recent adjustments made to the procurement prices paid for grain and other agricultural products have had the effect of stimulating the development of production. When the procurement prices paid by the state were too low, lower than needed to compensate for production costs, and producers were operating at a loss or not earning a significant profit, basic production units did not approach production with enthusiasm or spirit and also did not want to sell goods to the state. Many small industry and handicraft cooperatives have developed slowly and the production of many goods has shrunk simply because of the irrational prices paid in the contract ordering of goods by the state from these cooperatives.

Within those segments of the economy that are based on private ownership of the means of production, the law of value regulates production and has an impact that is many times stronger. Here, be they raising sugarcane or peanuts, farmers give a great deal of thought to what to raise on their land, to which product will produce the largest profit.

Attention must be given to the salient characteristics of our country, namely, the fact that we are advancing from small-scale production, from being an agricultural country that has a subsistence economy to a commodity economy and the fact that our country's young commodity economy is still underdeveloped. Therefore, there are many conditions existing within our country today for stimulating the development of the commodity economy. Even a very small amount of stimulation from the standpoint of value will have a major impact upon the development of production and accelerate the flow of goods among the various areas and regions of the country. If, at the outset, we had a correct understanding of the law of value and applied it correctly, we would have created favorable conditions for stimulating the development of production, thereby making important contributions to socialist transformation and socialist construction. When accepting orders for goods from state-operated economic organizations, small-scale producers have worked hard and accelerated the development of the economy even though their only profit is their wages. Simply by adjusting the mode of distribution through the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, we stimulated the development of agricultural production well. During the past 4 years, grain output has risen at the average annual rate of 700,000 tons as a result of stimulating production by implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor within agricultural cooperatives.

Thus, which factors have stimulated and spurred the development of agricultural production in recent years? One very important factor is that the economic interests, the material interests of the masses have been

satisfied through the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers. The working masses have benefited economically through procurement prices, wages and profits. As a result, the application of the law of value is of very important significance in stimulating the development of production. In recent years, as a result of adjusting procurement prices, farmers have been motivated to sell grain and other agricultural products to the state in much larger quantities than during the period from 1976 to 1980.

Within the field of circulation, special features characterize the impact of the law of value. Here, this law is manifested in the market and has a very swift and strong impact. Goods move and are drawn to the market that has the highest prices. When rational procurement prices are set, prices that provide producers with a profit, sources of goods can be developed quickly and the state is able to procure many goods.

However, we cannot use prices as "a miracle cure, the only cure" for the current problems of the economy. To accelerate the development of production, it is necessary to take well coordinated measures, such as organizing production correctly, providing a timely supply of materials, fuels, new varieties of seed and fertilizer, applying the latest achievements of science and technology, etc. Likewise, in order for the state to be able to buy many products, it must not only take measures that pertain to prices, but must also organize an efficient procurement network and establish good coordination with the other sectors.

One shortcoming in our economic management in recent years has been that we have allowed many state-operated organizations to use the increase in prices as a tool to "compete" for more goods for themselves. Some corporations are "excited about and fond of" using price increases to concentrate sources of goods for themselves, especially export goods. A liter of raw materials, a kilogram of supplies or a kilogram of exported summer shrimp are procured at prices that are very high, so high they are many times removed from the value of the product being procured. Although the state has established a product price framework for localities, procurement prices and the retail prices of consumer goods vary very widely among the localities even though the quantity and quality of products are the same. Another very "interesting" problem is that many localities and business units have increased their income by means of the "price differential," which is no different than "working as a middle man for a commission." The resolution of the 7th Party Plenum stated: "Using the price differential to earn illegitimate profits is prohibited." This practice is the result of a weak sense of complying with price discipline and less than strict price management. As a result, the price chaos that exists on the market has set off a chain reaction explosion that has had a serious impact upon the stability of the national economy.

In order to apply the law of value well, we must perform the following several jobs:

Research must be conducted in order to establish the production costs of goods and, on this basis, correctly determine the value of goods.

This is a very pressing measure in view of the present situation concerning the management of prices, especially the prices of such products as paddy, pork, other agricultural products and a number of industrial goods. Success in this effort requires a long and very complicated process of research. We cannot act in a subjective, impetuous manner or submit falsified reports in order to record an achievement, thus causing the state to make inaccurate decisions concerning prices, which, in turn, causes much harm to production and the standard of living. If production costs are not correctly determined, it is impossible to set correct prices for goods and no real basis exists for practicing economic accounting. The reason why we have long been unable to implement economic accounting at enterprises well is because rational production costs have not been established. If production costs are not correctly determined, enterprise wholesale prices and industrial wholesale prices are nothing more than a matter of form and, as a result, accurate retail prices for consumer goods cannot be established. Of course, prices must also be based on the various policies adopted by the party and state during each period. However, it must first be clearly recognized that production costs, that the value of a product is the base of foremost importance in setting the price of a product. Despite the fact that some responsible agencies have been investigating and studying production costs for many years, there are still many problems concerning the establishment of production costs that we must continue to study.

Closely tied to prices is the need for us to conduct studies in order to establish a rational relationship between the prices of industrial goods and the prices of agricultural products. This relationship is also based on the price ratio relationship among the various types of goods, that is, based on how much social labor must be expended to produce these goods. On the other hand, this price ratio is also a manifestation of the developing relationship between industry and agriculture within the socialist economy. At the same time, it is a manifestation of the alliance between workers and farmers under the new conditions of the proletarian dictatorship.

We must correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor through the improvement of wages.

The law of distribution in accordance with labor requires that personal consumer goods be distributed to the working people in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor contributed by each person to society. The workers on the rolls of the state receive these consumer goods in the form of wages. As a result, the wage system is closely related to the prices of consumer goods and the purchasing power of the dong. The real wages of the working people are determined by increases and decreases in the prices of consumer goods. Therefore, the establishment of the wage scale, salary scale...is closely tied to financial affairs, the budget, prices and monetary activities. In recent years, prices on the market have soared and, as a result, the real wages of manual workers and civil servants have declined and they have encountered many difficulties in their daily lives, especially the cadres and workers within the administrative sector.

Economic accounting must become a firmly established practice within enterprises.

When production is still commodity production, enterprises meet the requirements of the economic laws of socialism through the law of value. Enterprises can calculate production costs and profit levels in terms of money. In the production process, enterprises seek to constantly raise their labor productivity in order to reduce their production costs, increase their profits and make significant contributions to the formation of capital for the state.

At present, economic accounting is, in essence, not being fully practiced in our country because production costs are not being fully calculated, consequently, we have been unable to apply the law of value well in the process of managing enterprises. Determined steps must be taken to dismantle the system of bureaucracy and subsidization and money must be used to supervise the implementation of planning in production and circulation and insure profits for enterprises and the formation of capital for the state.

We must firmly adhere to the law on the circulation of money in the process of managing prices.

Changes in the purchasing power of the dong and the movement of money also change prices. The dong has been seriously devalued but the prices of goods have risen as the value of the currency has declined; therefore, when setting the prices of goods, consideration must be given to the purchasing power of the dong. On the market, prices are rising quickly, rising with each day and month.

On the other hand, we must give attention to the movement of money and have a firm grasp of the law on the circulation of money in the process of managing prices. The amount of new money issued must correspond to the volume of goods in circulation on the market. At present, there is a serious imbalance between money and goods within each area and on each market. There are many goods but not enough money at some places and much money but not enough goods at other places. At some places, there is not enough cash to procure agricultural and food products from farmers. Therefore, the price instability that exists in the current situation is partly due to our failure to manage monetary activities well and our failure to fully recognize the important impact that the law on the circulation of money has upon the production and circulation of goods.

We must strongly develop socialist commerce, intensify the transformation of private commerce and strengthen our management of the market.

Practical experience has clearly shown that in order to transform private commerce and successfully develop upon the achievements recorded in transformation, the organizations of socialist commerce must be strong in the following areas: policies and business management; available goods and material-technical bases; and a corps of cadres who possess good revolutionary qualities and know how to perform the work of the commerce sector. What happened years ago at the completion of transformation when the market seemed deserted happened because socialist commerce did not possess the forces or the ability to take the place of private commerce in trade. As a result, private commerce was restored in only a short amount of time and became even stronger

than it once was at some times and places. This led to continuous speculation and black marketing, continuous disruption of the market and continuous increases in prices.

When strongly built and organized, socialist commerce creates the economic conditions for the formation and development of the new production relations within the field of circulation. With this, the planning of the circulation of goods becomes a reality and creates good conditions for stabilizing and managing prices on the market. Only with these material conditions can state-operated commerce organizations apply the law of value to stimulate the development of the production and circulation of goods. Therefore, giving attention to building and developing state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives is a pressing requirement in transforming and managing the market and stabilizing the prices of goods.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, p 20.
2. Ibid., p 4.

7809

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THE HOAI DUC DISTRICT PARTY ORGANIZATION LEADS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HANDICRAFT TRADES WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 71-74, 106

[Article by Nguyen Van Duc, secretary of the Hoai Duc District Party Committee]

[Text] Hoai Duc District in Hanoi, which has 8,258 hectares of farmland and a population of 168,338, is a densely populated district. This problem of "little land and a large population," like a very difficult problem in mathematics, has constantly forced our district party organization to think and develop solutions.

The Hoai Duc District party organization has been taking many positive steps for many years to resolve this problem, such as initiating intensive cultivation to raise crop yields and expanding the production of winter crops; trying to gradually reduce the district's population growth rate; mobilizing and sending persons to build new economic zones; and intensifying the development of small industry and the handicraft trades. Of these measures, our district party committee has attached special importance to the strong development of the handicraft trades, considering this to be the basic way to resolve the district's problem of surplus labor.

Why has Hoai Duc attached importance to the strong development of the handicraft trades? It has done so primarily because this policy is consistent with the economic line of our party. In the economic development guidelines of our country, our party has defined small industry and the handicraft trades as an important component of the consumer goods industry, one that occupies a position of permanent importance within the national economy, especially the local economy.

Our policy of strongly developing the handicraft trades is also based on Hoai Duc's special characteristic as a district that has many traditional handicraft trades, many trades that are famous throughout the country, such as the production of rattan ware, the weaving of cloth, the weaving of silk and embroidery (Van Khanh) and sculpting and lacquerware paintings (Son Dong). The district's handicraft labor force is large and highly skilled. The artisans of Hoai Duc have taken the trades of their native villages to work in many other localities and are teaching their trades to others. The handicraft

trades are a valuable asset of the district. In addition, Hoai Duc District has a very abundant labor force and is a district that is located near Hanoi and served by very convenient roads to the city.

The strong development of the handicraft trades is consistent with the special characteristics and strengths of Hoai Duc District. This policy will provide jobs for many local persons and make full use of idle agricultural labor. In Hoai Duc, the handicraft trades are very closely tied to agricultural production and are practiced within each farm family. Farm families raise crops and work in the handicraft trades. The handicraft trades are a source of prosperity to each cooperative member family and a source of capital for the cooperative and the district.

The strong development of the handicraft trades also creates sources of export goods for the districts and the city.

Facts have shown that the development of small industry and the handicraft trade does not require much by way of investments and provides employment for large numbers of laborers while yielding considerable economic returns. To a "densely populated" district such as Hoai Duc, the strong development of the handicraft trades is extremely necessary.

However, arriving at this realization and adopting this policy required a process of struggle that extended over many district party committee terms.

Prior to 1977, there were many artisans in every village of the district and many trades were being practiced; however, these trades were being maintained in a spontaneous manner, were being maintained by individual families and passed on from one generation to the next. Back then, more than a few persons on the district party committee and the basic party committee echelons were of the opinion that the handicraft trades adversely affected agricultural production. A number of villages, such as Di Trach, Phung Chau, Van Khanh and An Thuong, discontinued the handicraft trades because agricultural production had been developing slowly for many years.

In 1977, with the encouragement and active assistance of the Ha Son Binh Provincial Party Committee (at that time, Hoai Duc had yet to be merged with Hanoi), the Hoai Duc District Party Committee clearly defined the role and position of the handicraft trades in the economy of the district and adopted the policy of strongly developing the handicraft trades, considering them to be an important part of the district's economy.

Our district party committee has established the guidelines for the development of the district's small industry and handicraft trades as producing goods under contract for the state, supporting agricultural production, serving local consumer needs and rapidly increasing the sources of export goods. To achieve these ends, Hoai Duc adopted the policy of restoring and developing the traditional trades of the district and boldly introducing new sectors and trades within the district.

To implement this policy well, the district party committee conducted a pilot project in Yen So. The district helped Yen So organize and structure its

handicraft trades so that they developed well and helped it to develop its agricultural production. The realities of the situation at Yen So and a number of other places within the district proved that the handicraft trades do not impede agricultural production but increase the income of cooperative members and the formulation of capital for the cooperative.

On the basis of the experience gained in Yen So, the district began guiding the strong development of the handicraft trades in all villages. Working with basic units, it conducted surveys, determined which trades were being practiced and reorganized and restructured the handicraft labor force. Handicraft labor has been divided into two types: the handicraft labor within the professional handicraft production units and the handicraft labor within the agricultural cooperatives. The district has established 17 professional handicraft cooperatives and 16 professional handicraft cooperative teams. The majority of the professional handicraft cooperatives produce products under contract for the state. Each produces many different products and each product is produced within a separate shop. The handicraft labor within the agricultural cooperatives constitutes a large force. These craftsmen are very closely tied to agricultural production. In practice, the district only manages the handicraft labor at the agricultural cooperatives.

To implement its policy on encouraging the restoration of the traditional trades of the locality and boldly developing new trades, the district has planned the development of the handicraft trades as part of its planning for the building of the district. It also formulates a specific yearly and 5-year plan for each trade.

As a result of being encouraged and reorganized, the traditional trades of the district have been restored and strongly developed. The weaving trade, which once only produced a few products on single looms, now produces a wide selection of products, such as exported cloth, domestic cloth, satin, "pe co" fiber cloth and so forth, on double looms. New products have also been quickly introduced, such as wool rugs, jute rugs, exported towels, nylon socks, etc. The embroidery trade, which was previously only practiced in Van Khanh, is now practiced throughout the district by 2,676 artisans engaged in colored embroidery in 24 villages and 731 artisans engaged in white embroidery in 5 villages. Some trades that we though had been abandoned, such as carving, have now been restored. Some 33 new craftsmen have been trained for this trade. Today, at the Son Dong Cooperative, there is only one person, an 85 year old man, sculpting statues. With the assistance of the district, the cooperative is urgently training artisans to restore this trade.

Restoring and developing the trades engaged in the processing of agricultural and food products are an important aspect of our district's policy. On the one hand, the district has given its attention to restoring the trades that have existed for many years in Hoai Duc, such as the making of galingale noodles and rice paper and the production of molasses; on the other hand, the district has encouraged the vigorous development of a number of new trades to support the production and daily lives of the people of the district, such as the production of soy sauce, livestock feed, galingale noodles, dried *Dracontomelum duperreanum* for exportation, wine and alcohol from molasses... Our district party committee considers the processing of agricultural and food

products to be a strength of the district's handicraft trades. The district will assist basic units in thoroughly developing this potential. The district party committee has also decided to gradually implement a policy of supplying processed grain and food products to Hanoi. This will increase the value of agricultural products, create additional jobs for the people of the district and provide byproducts for the development of livestock production.

Hoai Duc has also concerned itself with developing the handicraft trades that support agricultural production and the construction needs of the people. The district's farm implements station produces hand implements for the agricultural cooperatives and repairs machines brought in by the villages. All of the district's villages have brick production units. The district has 17 tile production units. It is now trying to step up the production of building materials in order to meet the rising needs of the district and its people.

The handicraft trades of Hoai Duc, although restored and developed, have encountered many difficulties in recent years due to the shortage of raw materials and supplies. It can be said that raw materials are what determine the survival of the handicraft trades. In this area, the policy of the Hoai Duc District Party Committee is to encourage and help basic units to increase the variety of their products and promptly shift to the production of appropriate substitute products in order to maintain the standard of living of artisans. The district has also adopted the policy of expanding our economic ties with other districts and provinces for the purpose of developing sources of raw materials and supplies needed by the district, such as economic ties with the mountain provinces to procure giant rattan, rattan, wood and so forth. However, the district party committee has clearly set the basic direction of development of Hoai Duc's handicraft trades as thoroughly developing the potentials of the district and expanding those trades that utilize local raw materials, such as the processing of agricultural and food products, the production of building materials and the production of earthenware and pottery (the district has a kaolin mine).

A Number of Results

Since the adoption of the policy on strongly developing small industry and the handicraft trades, Hoai Duc has brought about many good changes. In 1977, it led the districts of Ha Son Binh Province in the value of small industry and handicraft output. Since then, the district's small industry and handicraft production has maintained a good rate of development and grown with each passing day. The value of small industry and handicraft output has increased year after year.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value(millions of dong)(*)</u>
1976	18.3
1981	18.662
1982	22.470
1983	21.118

At present, the value of small industry and handicraft output accounts for 39.6 percent of the district's total income. The value of exports has continuously risen: 2,218,000 dong in 1976, 5,415,000 in 1981 and 7 million dong in 1983.(*)

The strong development of small industry and the handicraft trades has absorbed a large labor force. The handicraft labor force (especially within the agricultural cooperatives) has grown rapidly.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Handicraft Laborers</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>At Agricultural Cooperatives</u>
1976	9,400	4,453	4,947
1980	10,336	3,665	6,671
1981	15,167	3,065	12,102
1983	16,000	4,500	11,500

In 1984, the handicraft labor force numbered 20,284 laborers and accounted for 28 percent of the district's total labor force. Hoai Duc is trying to further expand handicraft production in order to provide work for roughly 35,000 to 40,000 laborers within small industry and the handicraft trades by 1990, thereby virtually resolving the district's problem of surplus labor.

The process of developing the handicraft trades has also been a process of making the cadres, party members and people of Hoai Duc District more aware of the position and role of small industry and the handicraft trades in the district economy, especially in increasing the district's exports, improving the standard of living of the people and resolving the district's surplus labor problem. In recent years, together with developing the handicraft trades, Hoai Duc has also taken strong strides forward in agriculture. These are the two directions of development being taken within one economic structure, two directions that support and stimulate each other. Facts have increasingly confirmed that developing small industry and the handicraft trades is a correct approach, one that lays a firm foundation for Hoai Duc to build the district within an agro-industrial economic structure.

Some Problems That Must Be Resolved

Although Hoai Duc's handicraft trades have recorded encouraging results in recent years, the development of the handicraft trades is still being hampered in many ways. As for itself, our district party committee acknowledges that it has not truly given appropriate attention to or recognized all the difficulties and problems of small industry and the handicraft trades in order to establish positive and timely guidelines for overcoming these difficulties and problems. The district has not given its attention to training leadership and management cadres for the small industry and handicraft sector. This corps is still weak and lacking sufficient cadres. At present, Hoai Duc is quickly formulating cadre planning for the small industry and handicraft sector in an effort to soon provide the corps of cadres needed to meet the requirements involved in the development of small industry and the handicraft trades.

The small industry and handicraft sector is currently encountering difficulties and problems in the area of regulations and policies. Many aspects of the prices of products produced under contracts, the supplying of grain to handicraft workers, the retirement of artisans who are far beyond retirement age, the addition of young artisans to the work force, the way that the delivery of contract goods is organized and so forth are irrational and are such that artisans are not content nor are they motivated to produce. Artisans (especially professional artisans) are encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives. The prices of many products produced under contract are a matter deserving of thought. In Hoai Duc, orders for goods produced under contracts with the state must pass through many intermediary agencies before reaching basic units. On the average, orders for products must pass through three contracting agencies. For some products, such as satin, orders must pass through five agencies. As a result, by the time orders reach artisans, very little money is left for production. Can organizational improvements be made that provide more favorable conditions for basic units to accept contracts for products? Irrational prices have also been the cause of prolonged difficulties encountered by the silk thread sector. Everyone knows that silk thread is a valuable export product. Sericulture is a tradition in Hoai Duc but the amount of area under the cultivation of mulberry trees has steadily declined as people have destroyed mulberry trees in order to plant other crops. Why is this? Simply stated, it is because the cultivation of mulberries cannot be expanded when the economic returns from mulberry trees are five to six times lower than the returns from other crops. These are problems that the Hoai Duc District Party Committee earnestly hopes that the responsible agencies on the upper level will give their attention to studying and promptly resolving.

Clearly aware of its shortcomings in the areas of leadership and guidance and having established clearly defined guidelines for the development of small industry and the handicraft trades in the years ahead, our district party committee is determined to thoroughly develop the potentials that lie in the district's trade sector and the potentials resulting from economic ties, determined to develop Hoai Duc into a district that has a solid and strong agro-industrial economic structure.

FOOTNOTES

* Calculated at 1970 fixed prices.

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THE NEW CHANGES IN THE PARTY DEVELOPMENT WORK OF THE HO CHI MINH CITY PARTY ORGANIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 75-77

[Article by Pham Xuan Ai]

[Text] Prior to liberation day, the city party organization had 1,200 members engaged in clandestine activities within the city and more than 3,000 members active in the bases and the areas that were the springboards into the city, such as Ben Cat, Long An, Dau Tieng, Long Thanh, Vung Tau and My Tho.

Today, the city party organization has nearly 56,000 members active in every field of work. In addition to those party members who were here prior to 1975 and those who have been transferred to the city from other places, the city party organization has accepted 20,000 new members into the party over the past 10 years. These are persons who have grown and matured in the stage of the socialist revolution.

Ho Chi Minh City was previously the nerve center of the U.S.-puppet regime, was the focal point of many complex phenomena of society in the South. The Americans and the puppets did everything possible to adversely influence the political beliefs, the thinking, the lifestyle and so forth of the laboring people, especially the working class of the city, and turned them against the revolution, against the party. Therefore, selecting persons to educate and accept into the party has been a difficult and complicated matter.

When the tasks of the revolution changed following the liberation of the city, the work of developing the party had to promptly meet the requirements of these new tasks. To accomplish this, the basic organizations of the party within the city relied upon the revolutionary bases that had been organized prior to the complete liberation of the South. Some 924 persons were selected and accepted into the party in 1975, all of whom had been challenged to some degree in the course of the revolutionary activities conducted prior to liberation day. During the 2 years 1976 and 1977, the city's development of the party slowed as a result of difficulties encountered in preparing persons for acceptance into the party. These difficulties arose because more than a few cadres and party members did not have a clear understanding of the specific circumstances of the people of the city, were not fully aware of the clever schemes of the enemy, did not evaluate the masses in a full or

comprehensive manner and even made some mistakes, consequently, they did not boldly work among the masses to organize and educate them. On the other hand, there was still much confusion about how to guide the development of the party, consequently, the number of persons accepted into the party during those 2 years was only as high as the number accepted in 1975.

To correct the situation described above, the city Party Committee focused its efforts on guiding the development of the party within a number of enterprises, subwards and villages. The lessons learned from the advanced model units provided the various levels of the city party organization with a blueprint for developing the party.

The Phong Phu Textile Mill became a good model unit in the development of the party. In the space of a little more than 1 year (April, 1978 to June, 1979), the party chapter of the Phong Phu Textile Mill accepted 21 persons into the party, 17 of whom were technical workers. The lessons learned from Phong Phu are the need for all party members to be aware of the urgent requirements of party development and have a correct understanding of the masses and the need to assign party members to the shops so that they can be close to the masses and, in this way, educate and enlighten the masses and then select outstanding persons for acceptance into the party. This process is also the process of cultivating and improving the quality of party members and increasing the fighting strength of the basic party organization to insure that the development of the party takes the correct direction.

The realities of developing the party at the advanced model units helped cadres and party members more clearly see the positive role played by the masses in the course of the revolution, in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States and even during the first days of the general offensive and uprising to liberate the city. Although they were living under the yoke of enemy control and always being oppressed and terrorized by the enemy, large numbers of the laboring people, especially workers, in the city maintained their confidence in the revolution (progressive elements of the masses still looked for every way to wage many different forms of struggle against the enemy) and, when the opportunity presented itself, they arose in coordination with the offensive of the revolutionary armed forces. They have been the foundation, the base upon which persons have been selected for acceptance into the party.

The 3rd Congress of the City Party Organization strongly criticized the incorrect points of view from which the masses were being evaluated and criticized the poor sense of responsibility displayed by some party committees and party members by not boldly accepting many outstanding workers into the party. The congress decided to organize a party development drive called the "Nguyen Van Cu Party Member Class." With that, party development within the city began to proceed smoothly.

To develop the party well, the various party committee echelons must especially concern themselves with solidifying the basic organizations of the party and building mass organizations that are solid and strong. In conjunction with determining among which persons the party must be developed, the various party committee echelons must also adopt correct guidelines and

employ correct methods in the selection and screening of persons for acceptance into the party and in training and educating them in the ideals of communism and the tasks and responsibilities of the party member.

The guidance of party development was put under a comprehensive plan and improved by the various party committee echelons. As a result, marked progress has been made, in terms of both the number and quality of new party members, in the development of the party within the city. The number of persons accepted into the party rose from 533 in 1977 to 1,002 in 1978 and 3,298 in 1983. During the 1984 "Nguyen Van Cu Class" party development drive, 2,575 persons were accepted into the party. During that drive, the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 10th Precincts, Hoc Mon, Cu Chi and Thu Duc Districts and the party organizations of the Power Corporation, the Steel Combine, the textile enterprises, the university and so forth were the units that developed the party well. The city public security party organization accepted 613 persons into the party in 1984.

Strengthening the force of party members at basic units is of important significance in insuring leadership by the party and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. With the persons accepted into the party during the past several years, party members who have emerged from within the local mass movement now account for more than one-third of the total membership of the city party organization. Together with the members of the mass organizations, which have been organized and developed, these new party members have steadily increased the size of the political forces at basic units and brought them closer to the masses. Today, party members are active at many basic units and "empty" units at which there are no party members are gradually becoming a thing of the past. In Hoc Mon District, many hamlets once did not have a party member; today, party members are active in 100 percent of the district's hamlets. The Thanh Cong Textile Mill previously only had one party chapter with 13 members and many of its production shops had no party members. Today, the mill's party organization numbers 110 members and all shops have a party chapter. On the average, each subward within Ho Chi Minh City has accepted 15 persons and each village has accepted 10 persons into the party during the past several years.

In its guidelines for the development of the party, the city party organization has attached very much importance to bringing outstanding workers and direct production workers into the party. The percentage of members of the city party organization who are workers has risen markedly, from 4 percent in 1977 to 17.58 percent in 1983. The number of direct production workers selected for acceptance into the party has risen from 3.77 percent in 1977 to 13.7 percent in 1983. Also through the development of the party, the city party organization has strengthened the force of young party members who are well educated and possess knowledge of science and technology. Of the total number of new party members, two-thirds are former Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union members, 2 percent are emulation warriors (3.53 percent of the members of the Nguyen Van Cu Class are emulation warriors) and 13.49 percent have a college or post-graduate education.

In developing the party, maintaining the character of the party is something that must be given attention from the very time that persons are being

selected and screened for acceptance into the party. This process is the process of educating and enlightening these persons in the ideals of communism, in class consciousness so that they can distinguish between labor and exploitation, between socialism and capitalism, in the revolutionary will to fight and especially in the tasks of the party member in the stage of the socialist revolution. Generally speaking, the persons who have been accepted into the party have grown and matured through challenges and fulfilled their exemplary-vanguard role at every job position assigned by the party. The percentage of new party members who have been deemed unqualified for party membership has been very low.

The city's efforts to develop the party during the past several years have produced fine results but these results are only initial results. Fifty percent of the basic organizations of the party within the city have done nothing to develop the party for many years. There are tens of thousands of outstanding persons, skilled workers, emulation warriors and outstanding laborers at enterprises who fervently wish to join the ranks of the party but who are not being cultivated, trained or educated by basic party organizations. Compared to the requirements of the political task of a city that is an industrial center and has a large corps of workers numbering in the hundreds of thousands, workers who were challenged in the revolutionary struggle over the past several decades and in the realities of their work and production in recent years, and compared to the development of the spirited emulation movements from which tens of thousands of outstanding persons have emerged, the results achieved in developing the party over the past several years have clearly been very limited.

Although the city has given attention to strengthening the force of party members at basic units, this force is currently very thin. Many basic units have too few party members and some have none at all.

Along with developing the party, cultivating and improving the quality of the corps of party members, both veteran and new, are exceedingly important. Therefore, continuing to train and forge new party members so that they grow and fulfill their role of taking the lead and setting examples within the mass movement and excellently complete the political task assigned to them are a matter with which the city party organization is fully concerned.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: 'CIRCUS ACTS'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 78-80

[Article by Trong Nghia]

[Text] A circus is a legitimate art form, a most fascinating and captivating art form. People are drawn to circuses by their very skillful and talented acts. Circus goers are often spellbound and mystified by sensational aerial acts, dizzying somersaults and very artful and clever acts of agility. Amidst the melodious, sometimes stirring music and under the fairy-like bright green red, yellow and purple lights, circus goers are mesmerized even more, so much so that it becomes difficult for them to tell what is real and what is not: everything is an illusion. Many persons can do nothing more than nod their head in appreciation or slap their thigh and yell: "What skill! Perfect!"

This is probably why many persons think of illusion or something similar to illusion whenever they hear the word "circus."

Recently, in public opinion within our society, the term "circus act" has been used to characterize and criticize actions in the nature of sleight of hand and trickery taken to serve the personal interests of some persons or the partisan interests of some agencies and units. And this term, it must be said, is very well chosen.

Let us examine a number of these actions and see what they entail.

Some state-operated enterprises, cooperatives, corporations...begin performing "circus acts" when formulating their production and business plans. Aware of the incompetency or the bureaucratic practices of some cadres in positions of responsibility on the upper level, they fabricate situations and present phony figures to "fool" their superiors and draw up a plan that is deceptive. They only report 70 to 80 percent of what the actual production capacity of their enterprise or unit is and inflate their production costs, their consumption of raw materials and supplies by 20 to 30 percent. What is their purpose? It is to receive much capital and many raw materials and supplies from the state but not have to deliver the corresponding quantity of products to the state, only some products. The balance of the capital, raw materials and supplies is

"stolen" and used on jobs that serve the partisan interests of their enterprise or unit.

In the course of implementing their plans, more than a few basic units, in the name of being "creative" and "flexible," resort to all sorts of "illusions" to shift around and pilfer goods and supplies received from the state, thus harming the interests of the state. In this regard, some units must be acknowledged as having achieved the "skill of a master." They take from one account and add to another, use this to compensate for that and keep one item on the books but funnel another into an "illicit fund." They make up fake invoices and documents and use capital and supplies as they wish. They "tear down fences" not for the purpose of creating a new mode of operation or surmounting the constraints imposed by bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, but merely to serve their own partisan, local interests, their selfish interests. They chase after money and defy the correct policies and regulations with which everyone must strictly comply.

In September or October, when they see that it will be difficult to complete their plan for the year, some state-operated enterprises approach the upper level and start tearing their hair out and describe all sorts of difficulties they are having in order to have their plan "adjusted." Then, at the end of the year, when they "meet and exceed" the quotas of their new, adjusted plan (which is, of course, lower than their actual capacity) they receive the same bonuses as units that operate legitimately. Those of them who are adept at "circus acts," those of them who can make $2 \times 2 = 5(!)$ receive an even fatter bonus.

Some small industry and handicraft cooperatives and production teams are collectives on the outside but do business and operate like private units and are 100 percent private on the inside. Here, the cooperative director or cooperative team chief is a "supervisor" who acts as a go between, signs contracts with one place or another and then hires manpower and rakes in large profits. As a result of this deceptive method of operating on the part of some persons, there is developing within our society a situation in which more than a few enterprises and cooperatives are ostensibly completing their plan but still not supplying much by way of additional products to meet the needs of society.

This is not to mention the many products that do not meet qualitative standards and are even of very poor quality. However, because they are working in collusion with cadres of the quality control section, some persons are able to put these poor quality products into warehouses where grade A products are stored. These products are then put on the market and make their way to consumers without these persons even caring about what the consequences might be. Not even all of the products that are delivered to the state meet technical or quality standards! Taking advantage of management loopholes, shrewd and quick thinking operators downgrade grade A products to grade B in order to keep them for "internal distribution" and include the grade B products among the grade A products being delivered to the state.

Many "circus acts" are seen in production and even more in the field of distribution and circulation. The fact that they control money and

merchandise has resulted in some persons within the state-operated commerce sector becoming overbearing. They put pressure on consumers and create difficulties and complications for them while resorting to various tricks and tactics to gain an advantage and make a profit. Such familiar and commonplace "acts" as reusing ration stamps and coupons, cheating customers when weighing, measuring or counting products, pilfering a little bit from the amount due each person under their ration standard, stealing goods from the state and then replacing the stolen portion with something else in order to maintain the original quantity...are performed over and over again by the "circus performers" of the state-operated commerce sector. Very frequently, dissatisfied customers have been forced to raise their voices in protest but these "performers" have still not brought "the curtain down" on their act. Worse yet, these persons also conspire and collude with black market operators by supplying them with state goods to sell and getting back from them poor quality merchandise and fake goods which are put on sale in state stores. High quality products are either sold to private merchants or retained for "internal sale." Poor quality products are upgraded to products of "high quality" in order to jack up their prices and sell them at a profit. Even scalpels used by public health personnel in surgery have been "distributed internally." And have not some persons who have been unable to buy certain products of the state at state stores managed to buy the very same products at the homes of state store personnel or through the "magical powers" of store personnel? Very deserving of attention is the fact that these phenomena are even spreading to exemplary, caring sectors that are trusted and respected a great deal by society, such as the medical sector and the education sector. Does the patient need an antibiotic for emergency treatment of a serious illness? The hospital has none. However, if you go to the private home of a certain doctor or nurse, you will find the antibiotic you need and be able to buy as much as you want, provided that you are willing to pay a high price. This is truly ironic and lamentable!

Some persons will no doubt ask: where are their superiors when these persons are doing such things? Begging your pardon, many of the persons on the upper level are "busy!" Moreover, even if the persons on the upper level are concerned, even if they take many positive, urgent measures and steps, it sometimes happens that because they are not skilled in the specialized field in question, are incompetent managers or are bureaucratic, they are still easily fooled, fooled without knowing it or without being able to do anything about it. Some cadres on the upper level view the situation as being so complicated that they have adopted the attitude of closing their eyes and ignoring what is going on. Actually, with the exception of a number of persons on the upper level who support, even become "performers" in these "circus acts," there are many cadres on the upper level who are very bold, qualified and competent but who find it very difficult to perform their jobs within the current "structure" of the sector or under the current "regulations" of the unit. You say that you want to come down and inspect our unit? Yes, I would. With that, the basic unit prepares a thorough reception for you. However, just what do you receive when you get there? First of all, you hear a very precise, good sounding report and sometimes are provided with a very detailed and scientific analysis of the figures presented. What you hear sounds very good. Then, you are taken to see what they are actually doing, to see firsthand "concrete and dynamic achievements" that have been

prearranged to "illustrate" their report. You will see that everything is in order, so much so that there is nothing with which to find fault. From the facts to the figures, from the books and records to what you actually see, everything is as it should be. How are you to know whether these data are real or contrived, whether what you saw was real or fake? Before you have time to think, to sort things out and make some comparisons, they invite you to "join them" in a banquet. It's called a banquet in your honor, a banquet to celebrate their achievements, so, how can you decline! Then, when you are about to leave, they give you a few "gifts," gifts they call "home grown" products or "special products" of the locality or enterprise. And should you decline their offerings? They'll ask you to give them to your grandmother, your sister or your children! In this way, they surround you on all sides, close your mouth and eyes and perform "circus acts" before you. How can you learn the full situation on the lower, how can a "manager" thoroughly inspect the work of the cadres under him?

Of course, the situation is not like this at all enterprises and units. No, we are not generalizing things. However, we must recognize that such "circus acts" are being performed at more than a few places. They are causing untold harm to our economic and social life, to the fine morals and customs of our people, to our new ethics and new culture. They are corrupting more than a few of our cadres and party members. Our party and state have harshly criticized these phenomena on many different occasions. Large numbers of cadres, party members and the people routinely renounce these practices. Because, they are manifestations of mercantile thinking, of guild thinking, of only being concerned with one's personal interests or the interests of one's unit. They are not consistent with the thinking and attitude of the collective master and are contrary to the character of socialism. One can ask how the state could ever determine what the situation actually is in order to adopt correct positions and policies if every installation and unit operated in this deceptive, "circus act" way. How could the state control products and goods in order to effectively carry out production, business and distribution, in order to manage the market and manage society?

We must wage a determined struggle and do everything possible to curb and gradually rid our socio-economic life of these "circus acts," these deceptive ways of operating.

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BOOK REVIEW: A LARGE AND VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 81-87

[Review by Le Xuan Vu of "Culture and Art" by Truong Chinh, published by Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985]

[Text] Truong Chinh is one of the Vietnamese revolutionaries who brought the light of Marxism-Leninism to the national culture, is a leading theorist on Marxist culture who has followed in the footsteps of President Ho by concerning himself with the process of the formation and development of the new culture of Vietnam. The articles written by him on culture and art are well known to all of us, each of which is an excellent theoretical work. This year, amidst the atmosphere of the major holidays being celebrated, Van Hoc Publishing House has selected a number of typical articles and presented them to readers in a book entitled "Culture and Art." The book is printed in two volumes: volume I consists of articles written between 1938 and 1960 and volume II of articles written since 1961.

Volume I consists of only 20 articles. However, they encompass the fields of customs, habits, education, the press, language, science, culture and art. Although there are only 20 articles, they constitute the foundation of, the first steps of decisive significance by the new socialist culture of Vietnam today, which Truong Chinh himself had an opportunity to review during the ceremony held to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture." Although there are only 20 articles, the literary style they reflect is concise and penetrating.

Reading "Culture and Art"(Volume I) by Truong Chinh today, now that Vietnamese culture, having "changed" with the August Revolution, has become "the new socialist culture, a culture that possesses strong vitality and is solidifying the changes that have occurred in the thinking, feelings, intelligence and ethics of our people today"(1), one achieves a better appreciation of the value of a correct cultural line. This line has been defined in the documents on culture and art issued by the party during the past half century. It radiates the special contributions made by President Ho to the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. It has been affirmed, concretized and developed over the years in many articles by high ranking leaders of the party, especially in the articles by Truong Chinh on culture and art.

As we read through the chronologically arranged articles contained within Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art," we not only see, as stated in the publisher's note, "the intense struggle waged by the author on this decisive front," but also the important milestones in the development of Vietnamese culture. Because, many of these articles, written as they were at memorable times, focused the light of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the party on the realities of culture, summarized those realities and drew conclusions in order to guide the development of culture and help our corps of intellectuals, writers and artists to "accept the line" and move forward.

The article "Several Major Principles in the Current 'New Culture of Vietnam' Campaign," which was written in 1944, analyzed the state of Vietnamese culture in order to shed light on the slogan a "national, scientific and popular culture." The article pointed out that these three principles "are not distant and remote, but exist within the current state of Vietnamese culture."(p 26)(*) They "are the three links of a chain. They are interconnected."(p 30)

The article "The War of Resistance on the Cultural Front," which was based on the realities that existed in 1946 and 1947, set forth the practical tasks and jobs that had to be performed on the cultural front and helped cultural activists use culture to support the resistance and develop our country's culture on the basis of a new democratic foundation.

The famous report "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture," which was delivered at the 2nd National Conference on Culture held in July, 1948, was the first comprehensive theoretical work of our party on culture, literature and art. It clarified the fundamental views of Marxism-Leninism concerning culture, literature and art and applied them to the specific situations of our country. It scientifically analyzed Vietnamese culture, both past and present. It defined the character and tasks of the new democratic culture of Vietnam and brought together on the united cultural front within the united national front and the world democratic cultural front every patriotic Vietnamese who was engaged in cultural work. It provided thorough answers to specific questions concerning our country's literature and art that were a source of concern to many persons, such as the questions concerning art and propaganda, socialist realism, criticism and debate, how to create good literary works, etc. Therefore, it served as the compass of our activities in the fields of culture, literature and art.

The article "Striving for a Rich, National Literature and Art Under the Banner of Patriotism and Socialism" reviewed the literature and art movement during the period between the August Revolution and the 2nd National Literature and Art Congress in early 1957. Set against the background of the bitter class struggle to consolidate the North and reunify the country, it defined the immediate tasks of writers and artists, denounced the saboteurs of the Humanism-Masterpieces school and also answered a host of specific questions concerning Vietnamese literature and art at that time, such as the relationship between politics and literature-art, truth and constructive criticism, works that support immediate objectives and works that support long-range objectives, creative freedom, upholding the fine traditions of the nation and studying the progressive literature and art of the world.

One can mention many other such articles that are important from the standpoint of providing guidance, not only in volume I, but in volume II as well, such as the speeches by Truong Chinh at the 3rd and 4th National Literature and Art Congresses and his address at the ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the "Thesis on Vietnamese Culture."

Drawing from reality in order to guide the development of reality as viewed by a Marxist strategist is the most important quality expressed in the articles written by Truong Chinh. Here, the author is both general and specific, general from the standpoint of the theory and practice involved in developing the culture, literature and art of our country in order to chart a course of development based on the views of Marxism-Leninism during each specific period of time. The results have been the formation of all the issues that pertain to the theory of Vietnamese culture, literature and art and the resolution of these issues in a consistent manner within the framework of continuous development. Politics and literature-art, creative freedom, the method of socialist realism, criticism of literature and art and other such questions of theory are re-examined many times within the book. However, due to the need to provide practical guidance, something new and fresh is brought to the examination of these questions each time and they are answered with increasing profundity and detail but without straying from basic principles. The theory of Truong Chinh, the theory of our party as taught by President Ho "is to very carefully and clearly examine and compare the realities of history, of experience, of struggles and reach conclusions. These conclusions are then tested against reality. This is genuine theory."(2)

Firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the thinking, line and policies of the party in order to find in practice answers to the questions being raised today, this is the first lesson that we must learn when studying Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art."

Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art"(Volume I) not only represents the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnamese culture, but also represents a fight for the victory of the stand, views and method of Marxism-Leninism in understanding and resolving each and every question. The essence of culture is ideology. Attaching importance to rebuilding the spiritual life of our country on the basis of the world view of Marxism-Leninism and the line and policies of the party is the salient point made by this book.

In the article "Where Phan Boi Chau Went Astray," "which pained and shocked many of his friends"(p 19), Truong Chinh points out the real reason why Phan Boi Chau went astray and concludes: "We should never forget what he accomplished. However, our faith in him should not be so great that we cannot be deeply disappointed in him. When he lost the clarity of his vision, his revolutionary sense, he knew that he had been deceived by An and Ta but still wrote a letter of congratulations to Mr. Saten. This was not at all unusual for someone who recognized the truth, who trusted in the power of the masses but considered the individual to be nothing more than a product of the movement, even though the individual can strongly influence and guide the movement."(p 21) He then goes on to prove that the fate of the Van Than

Movement had been determined long before then: "The right to lead the revolution must be in the hands of the proletariat"(p 24), "others had emerged to carry on Phan Boi Chau's unfinished cause."(p 25)

The Trotskyite Nguyen Te My wrote a book entitled "The Trung Sisters' Uprising" in which he maintained that it was "contrary to the evolution of society" for the Trung Sisters, who represented a matriarchal society, to resist China, which was at that time a patriarchal society. Truong Chinh showed that Te My was "an evil spirit disguising himself as a Marxist"(p 33), who defended the policy of aggression of the eastern Han feudal powers as well as that of the French imperialists, and appealed to intellectuals to expose this pseudo-intellectual of the Han Thuyen school.

Truong Chinh called for a determined struggle against "the influence of colonialist culture, which remains quite strong in the habits and thinking of our cadres and people."(p 45) He exposed the thinking behind "Humanism" and similar thinking of that time in the fields of politics, economics, culture, foreign affairs and international affairs and pointed out the dangerous nature of the Humanist-Masterpieces school as "progressing from sabotage of ideology and art to political sabotage."(p 224) He equipped us with the Marxist-Leninist view concerning Vietnam's culture through very basic reports as well as through each of his speeches to persons working in the fields of culture, literature and art. In his discussion on "Patriotic Emulation and the New Heroism," he praised the revolutionary heroism of emulation warriors and exemplary cadres with a view toward providing political motivation, teaching revolutionary ethics and molding the new man.

In 1955, on the occasion of the inaugural issue of TAP CHI HOC TAP (now TAP CHI CONG SAN), Truong Chinh analyzed both "the good and bad aspects of the situation that are the causes of the strengths and weaknesses of the party" (p 173) and pointed out the role of TAP CHI HOC TAP in the ideological and organizational work of the party, in summarizing the party's wealth of revolutionary experience and in propagandizing the lines and policies of the party. He expressed "the hope that, with the birth of TAP CHI HOC TAP, our party will intensify the practice of criticism and self-criticism, intensify the struggle against every mistaken tendency in the implementation of the line and policies of the party, against every distortion of Marxism-Leninism and the rather numerous ideological deviations that exist within our country at present. At the same time, the party will advance its theory and chart the course for practical work, thereby correcting the preoccupation with daily routine that is prevalent among cadres and party members."(p 188)

In his speech on "The Ideological Work of the Party," in which he expressed complete agreement with the political report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan at the 3rd Party Congress, Truong Chinh reviewed the past 30 years, pointed out the specific tasks and measures involved in ideological work in the new situation and emphasized that "thoroughly eliminating the ideology of the bourgeoisie is the basic theme of the socialist revolution within the field of ideology and culture."(p 357)

"President Ho, the Esteemed Leader of the Working Class and People of Vietnam," an excellent work, was written to commemorate the 70th anniversary

of the birth of President Ho. It not only reviewed the life and great career of Uncle Ho, but also shed greater light on the "revolutionary line of President Ho, that is, revolutionary line of our party, the Marxist-Leninist line within an agricultural country and former colony."(p 327) It praised the noble virtues and style of President Ho of "life long sacrifice and dedication to the cause of national liberation, to the freedom and happiness of the people, to the ideals of communism"(p 328) as always being a shining example for all of us...

Although it is impossible to relate all of his concerns, it is clear that the foremost concerns of Truong Chinh have been to teach Marxism-Leninism and the line and policies of the party, bring the Marxist-Leninist world view into a position of dominance within the spiritual life of our country, make it the ideology of all the people and, on this basis, build the new culture and mold the new man. These are also the very goals of the ideological and cultural revolution within our country.

Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art"(Volume I) also reflects a great deal of concern for the democratization of culture. In 1957, when discussing the cultural revolution in our country, he said: "Our cultural revolution must bring literature and art from the position of being precious pieces displayed in a cabinet, pieces that only a few privileged persons dare enjoy, to being as available as water and air to millions of people."(p 204)

Workers and peasants are the base of the revolution, are the masters of the country. Long ago, following this "revolutionary road" of President Ho, Truong Chinh, when collaborating with Vo Nguyen Giap in the writing of "The Peasant Issue," denounced the ruthless exploitation and "corrupt feudal customs"(p 7) that shackled laborers and the terrible policies of public ignorance and illiteracy in our country. He exposed the anti-popular as well as the anti-national and anti-scientific character of the culture of that time: "The masses possess the material vitality of society because they consist of the producers who support life. Artists, who possess the spiritual vitality of society, should serve the masses, should provide the mother's milk of society, should be close to the masses. Today, however, they have betrayed the masses and are far removed from them. Culture cannot spring directly from the masses. The results are a sickly and withering culture..."(p 29)

He was extremely gratified by the fact that in less than 3 years after the revolution, some 7 million of his fellow countrymen learned to read and write: "There is no doubt that we have won the champion's ribbon in the struggle against the enemy that is ignorance."(p 93)

In his "Letter to Painters" written in 1951, he also placed primary emphasis upon the objectives that, in accordance with the teaching of President Ho, literature and art must support. He maintained that the art of painting was still relatively underdeveloped compared to the richness of life primarily because our painters were not imbued with the line of the revolution, did not have a full understanding of the view of serving the people, did not understand that the laboring masses and struggle are the inexhaustible sources of the vitality of art, did not understand that the purpose of art is to describe the role of the people... Popularizing art does not mean reducing

art to the level of the "ordinary." He said: "Only popular art can be a masterpiece. The more of a masterpiece that a work of art is, the more popular is its nature. However, not all popular art is a masterpiece."(p 141)

In the same vein, he constantly reminded and encouraged persons working in the fields of culture, literature and art to develop their party consciousness, delve deeply into the life of the people and put culture into the service of the people. Not only that, he also maintained that the masses are fully capable of creating literature and art and fully concerned himself with the mass movement to create works of literature and art: "The masses are the most impartial, most clear-sighted examiners of art...the masses are the most competent critics of art because the masses consist of many ears, many eyes and many wise minds and sensitive feelings combined as one."(p 121) In "Talk at the All-Army Conference of Writers" in 1959, he stated that one of the reasons for the achievements and success recorded in literature and art work within the army was the realization of the need to "encourage the masses to create literature and art, sometimes only in the form of autobiographies and essays which, although short and concise, are filled with sincere feelings, and, in this way, tapping the creative potentials of the masses and discovering new talents, discovering fledgling writers and artists. Such a method of encouraging the masses to participate in literary and artistic creativity is correct and has produced distinct results."(pp 255-256)

With the aim of rebuilding the spiritual life of society on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world view, making culture the common property of all the people and implementing the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the field of culture, which are current topics today, "Literature and Art", even in volume I, attaches full importance to both the ideological aspect and the social aspect of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. This approach in the nature of a platform was clearly evident as far back as when "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" was written:

"Socially, the working class is the base.

Politically, national independence, people's democracy and socialism are the base.

Ideologically, Marxism-Leninism is the base.

In literary and artistic creativity, socialist realism is the base."(p 69)

Although they deal with issues concerning the thinking, theory and line of the party on a delicate and complex front, the articles by Truong Chinh contained with "Culture and Art" are concise, clear and easily understood. "...The literature of Truong Chinh has created a new method of thinking and description in literature. It is incisive, specific, concise, forged in the flames of battle..."--such was the observation made by To Huu many years ago.(3)

The reason for this is that the author has followed the "18 personal recommendations when writing literature"(p 5) and set an example in meeting the requirement of "launching a movement to bring clarity to our speeches and

literature."(p 125) He approaches each sentence and word and places each comma and period with precision and care. And, he even carefully re-examined and edited this book before assigning it to publication. These are things known to all of us. However, there is more.

That every article by the author has a very easily recognizable format--an introduction, the body of the article and a conclusion--and is characterized by a tight logical structure and a profusion of thoughts but short, concise sentences and a powerful, incisive literary style is mainly because the author, employing Marxist-Leninist methodology, has a truly full and clear understanding of the requirement that one must know one's subject matter. Concerning this point, Bo Lo long ago wrote: "Those things that we understand thoroughly can be expressed clearly and the words used to express them come to mind easily." Concerning this point, the author himself said the following in his outline for the lesson on "Writing Editorials": "The more thorough one's thinking on a subject is, the more easily and better one can write on that subject."(p 135)

Therefore, not only are the author's writings easily understood, but many passages are also easily remembered. Who among those who work in the fields of culture, literature and art can forget such imagery as "bootlicking literature," literature that "wines needlessly," literature that "crawls along the ground" or the imagery: "without criticism, without debate, our country's literature and art movement will be exceedingly quiet and dull! It will be no different than a horse plodding along with its head down..."? Who does not remember the classic passages on the relationship between the economy and culture in "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture" or on art and propaganda in the same report: "When it reaches a certain high level of development, propaganda becomes art. When it reaches a certain level, practical art becomes art that is clearly propaganda in nature. Therefore, there can be propagandists who are not or not yet artists, but there cannot be artists who are not propagandists in some way."(p 113) Or, as stated in the following passage on the primary task of our literature and art: "Praise the new persons among us, in their labor and love, in their public and private lives, in their relations on the job, their family relations and relations with their friends, praise these persons who are simple and ordinary but very brave, who have been forged in the revolution and the war of resistance and are today doing their best to make the fatherland more prosperous and strong with each day that passes, make the country more beautiful with each day that passes. Struggle relentlessly against the evil practices of the exploiting classes, against laziness, deception and contempt for workers and peasants, against things that reflect individualism and bourgeois liberalism and do not let them poison these persons."(p 208)

Because his thinking is "thorough," every argument made by the author is incisive and highly militant but reflects a full understanding of principles and is a persuasive argument. For example, when discussing politics leading literature and art and art serving politics, the author clearly defines how politics leads art and asks if "there is any greater honor for the writer and the artist than to use art to support a revolutionary line that liberates the people from oppression and exploitation?"(pp 215-216) The author speaks frankly and sympathetically to "writers and artists who look back on the past

10 years with a sense of 'regret' over having discontinued their creative efforts or over not producing anything that can be called a work of value during this period of time."(p 229) He clearly analyzes the two reasons, one of which pertains to writers and artists and the other of which pertains to some leadership cadres in the field of literature and art, why "creative freedom" has become such a heated issue, etc.

Because his thinking is "thorough," every article of the author--not only his long articles, but his short articles as well--possesses an inner force that carries the reader along, the force of truth, of theory. "Some Confidences Shared with Students" and "Students Can Still Advance," for example, were two short articles on the political attitude of students during the first days following the 1945 August Revolution that were very adamant but also very effective and convincing and which helped the Federation of Students for National Salvation of that day resist the provocations and divisive efforts of Vietnamese traitors and purge and reorganize its ranks within the Viet Minh Front...

The "new method of thinking and description" of Truong Chinh meets the author's own requirements: "We must be more revolutionary in our speech and writing. We must, in the example of President Ho, resolutely protect the mother tongue and maintain the purity of the written and spoken word."(p 130)

Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art" spans all the issues concerning the views and line of our party regarding culture, literature and art during the past half century. Each generation of we who work in the fields of culture, literature and art can see ourselves in it, can find in it issues that we have resolved or are resolving now. Only volume I has been published so far but, having read volume I, we feel sure that Truong Chinh's "Culture and Art" will constitute a large and valuable contribution to Vietnam's ideological and cultural revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Chinh: "Dien van doc tai le ky niem lan thu 40 ngay ra doi cua De cuong ve cach mang van hoa Viet nam"[Address at the Ceremony Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Adoption of the "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution"], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4, 1984, p 21.
- * The passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from "Culture and Art" by Truong Chinh, Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1985.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, Volume 4, p 444.
3. To Huu: "Xay dung moi nen van nghe lon xung dang voi nhan dan ta, voi thoi dai ta"[Building a Large-Scale System of Literature and Art Worthy of Our People, of Our Times], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p 72.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL LIFE AT THE BASIC UNITS WITHIN THE ETHNIC MINORITY AREAS OF THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 88-94

[Article by Mac Duong]

[Text] At the 5th Congress of our party, General Secretary Le Duan stated: "One task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to bring culture into every aspect of the daily life of the people. Special importance must be attached to the development of cultural life at basic units(...). We must fully concern ourselves with developing cultural life in the countryside, with attention to the former base areas and ethnic areas."(1) These views touch upon a number of fields of theory and practice in cultural work. Clearly, the effort to bring culture into every aspect of the life of the people and the effort to develop the standard of living at basic units are closely related. It is also a task, a theme of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country. From it arises a host of issues that must be studied and resolved, particularly with regard to ethnic minority areas, especially in the Central Highlands.

How do the concepts "culture," "traditional folk culture" and "the cultural life at basic units" differ? Which fields does the cultural life at basic units encompass? While developing the cultural life at basic units, what should our attitude be toward traditional folk culture, toward customs and habits? Which culture will be practiced by the masses? Finding answers to these questions is not easy, nor is it work that can be performed by only a few persons.

From the perspective of ethnology, we boldly present some thoughts with a view toward shedding additional light on these questions.

I. A Few Thoughts Concerning Theory

Culture is a very broad field of human creativity. There are currently many different opinions concerning what culture is. In the West, there are some 250 different concepts of culture.(2) Once, culture was understood as education, the school and the education system. Today, culture is a broader concept, encompassing science-technology as well as language and literature. "Culture is the sum of the achievements of a society recorded in its material

and spiritual development and used by that society. Culture encompasses traditional folk culture and provides for the continuous progress of mankind."(3)

Thus, culture is a broad concept of human creativity in many fields, the purpose of which is to bring about the continuous development by the society of man toward civilization. Within it, traditional folk culture is a long-standing product of many generations, a product of a distinct ethnic character that has experienced many systems, many different periods of history and continues to exist today. Traditional folk culture is a precious pearl in the treasure house of culture. However, because it has experienced many different systems and periods of history, the dust of the "vicissitudes of life" also clings to this precious pearl. Thus, the existence within traditional folk culture of backward, conservative and superstitious factors, which we must work to understand and remove, is unavoidable.

Cultural life at basic units consists of the specific, everyday activities carried out by the people in many areas of their life, most importantly in the areas of shelter, food, clothing, means of transportation, traditional folk literature and art, medical knowledge, festivals and new material-technical bases. At basic units, cultural life is the concrete aspects of culture and has the purpose of insuring continuous progress by man in his material life and spiritual life. Cultural life at basic units consists of three main fields: one, the field of material culture (food, shelter, clothing and means of transportation); two, the field of spiritual culture (traditional folk literature and art, medical knowledge and festivals); and three, the field of technical culture (the mass media, electric power stations, hydroelectric power projects and industrial machinery). In the political report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, the term "basic units" was specifically defined: they are factories, worksites, state farms, forestry sites, units of the armed forces, units of the people's public security forces, agencies, schools, hospitals, stores, villages, cooperatives, subwards, hamlets... Therefore, the building of cultural life at basic units must be carried out on the lower level, must begin at population centers, at places where cultural standards are still much lower than at other places. (This brings to mind the decrees issued by Lenin on building culture-science centers in Dagestan and Turkestan in the years from 1920 to 1922. These ethnic, border areas had the lowest cultural standards in Russia following the revolution. This also brings to mind the experience of the Soviet Union in the establishment of basic cultural units--kultbas--under the Soviet administration in Siberia in the 1930's with the aim of improving the cultural life at basic units for the backward tribes of herdsmen).

Developing the cultural life at basic units is a major undertaking, one that entails a bitter and complicated struggle between socialism and all the forces and remnants of reactionary and backward culture, a struggle to proclaim a new life of a new system for the people. For this reason, it is an understanding carried out by the masses under the leadership of the party and with the assistance of the functional agencies of the state. The people must take the initiative and participate in this work under the guideline "the state and the people working together."

II. Central Highlands Society and the Cultural Life at Basic Units Today Within Ethnic Minority Areas

Central Highlands society is a society in which "subsistence production predominates(...). Private ownership of the means of production is not widely established. The classes are not divided along clearly defined lines. Remnants of the primitive communist system of public ownership still exist."(4) These observations by Truong Chinh concerning Central Highlands society are entirely accurate from the standpoint of the most general features of that society and reflect the universal nature of laws. On the other hand, there are still many models of transitional social structures and models of cultural activities within the life of the people in the Central Highlands whose features are not fully known by us. Because, Central Highlands society is a society that is in the period of disintegration of primitive society against the historical background of the impact of feudalism and colonialism, both old and new. Through customs and habits, a strong clan structure and strong ties of kinship continue to be maintained within the village. As a result, there are very strong clan and kinship relations within each village. They are the basis upon which society within the village is managed through beliefs and customs. However, local independence and autonomy from other villages, especially other ethnic minorities, are very high. In terms of clan and kinship relationship, the village differs completely from the rural commune. Within the rural commune, these relations were not tightly binding nor were they the base upon which society was managed. As K. Marx wrote: "The rural commune was the first organization of free men not bound by kinship relations."(5)

There is the view that Central Highlands society "reflects the unique features of the rural commune in the pre-capitalist period of development." Here, the question can be asked: if this is so, did the villages in Bac Bo, Trung Bo and Nam Bo prior to 1954 reflect the unique features of the rural commune in the pre-capitalist period of development? As we know, class divisions and the class struggle had become so profound and intense in these regions prior to 1945 that our party was moved to adopt very correct policies through which to resolve these social antagonisms. There is also a view that emphasizes the "embryonic development of classes." Here, the question can be asked: in the Central Highlands today, should our policies emphasize the issue of "class" or the need to establish new social relations that break the ties of clan relations and the backward customs and habits that are impeding the progress of the ethnic minorities? Clearly, the "existence of remnants of the primitive communist system of public ownership" within the society of the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands, as stressed by Truong Chinh, is something that we must give our attention to and study in deeper detail.

From knowledge of social laws we progress to knowledge of the laws and nature of culture. Soviet ethnologists view society as being divided into various socio-economic forms (primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist).(6) The value of culture lies in creativity: scientific creativity, artistic creativity, the creation of ways to control nature and the creation of the arts of social struggle in order to achieve victory, preserve human existence and bring about man's continuous progress.

The ethnic minority culture in the Central Highlands is a type of primitive culture in the stage of deculturation. In cultural life at basic units, remnants of primitive communal life still exist. In the field of material culture (shelter, food, drink, clothing and transportation), there is still very much that is ancient and backward. The distribution of the villages is based on water sources and availability of forest land for slash and burn cultivation. Each village has a large area that it uses for its own slash and burn cultivation. As a result, villages are very widely separated and tend to be located deep within virgin forests and near water sources. There are some settlement villages that raise dry land crops on rain water in areas where the climate is cool. However, these villages suffer from a very serious shortage of potable water because they are far from water sources. Organizing villages in this way is well suited to a nomadic way of life or a settled lifestyle and rotation cultivation based on hunting, gathering forest products and exploiting the forests in the most rudimentary of ways. The more widely scattered villages are, the higher is the density of houses within them. Houses are built close together to protect humans from wild animals, provide protection against the raids and kidnappings that used to occur and preserve the close ties of kinship and clan created through marriage. In particular, within the long houses, close clan ties are clung to even more strongly. In the Central Highlands, there are two types of long houses: long houses on stilts (Ede, Jarai, Ma...) and long houses on the ground (Mnong Gar, Jeh Trieng, Stieng...). Each long house is inhabited by anywhere from 5-7 to a few dozen families. At some places, the entire village only consists of a few long houses. In some areas, short houses for individual families are built. There are also two types of short houses: houses on stilts and dirt houses. Today, in Dac Lac and Lam Dong, the process of the dissolution of the long houses is beginning. In Dac Lac, the campaign to discontinue the use of long houses has become a policy of the administration and has the support of the people, especially ethnic youths.

Prior to 1978, grain and salt were acute problems in everyday life. In 1979, these two problems were virtually resolved through the successful settlement of nomads campaign and the maintenance of political security. Between 1982 and 1983, many ethnic villages and cooperatives produced an average of 250 to 350 kilograms of grain per capita, some places as much as 550 kilograms. The Stieng area (Phuoc Long District, Song Be Province) produced 650 kilograms of grain per capita in 1982, 70 to 80 percent of which was rice. If they do not experience serious natural disasters, the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands are certainly capable of achieving self-sufficiency in grain. Moreover, if the settlement of nomads campaign is intensified in coordination with expanding the amount of area under the cultivation of wet rice and intensive cultivation, developing the garden and forest economies and raising export crops, the economic lives of the ethnic minorities will surely change quickly. The Central Highland minorities are capable of producing 500 kilograms of grain per capita, which is the amount needed to move forward in the initial stage of the period of preparing for industrial development. Dried fish are a very necessary food in the lives of the minorities today. At many places, they are forced to buy individual dried fish from private merchants at cutthroat prices. Due to the war, the random destruction of forests and the use of explosives to catch fish in rivers and streams, meat and fish have become increasingly scarce in the daily diet of the minorities.

As a result, the main foods that make up the diet of the ethnic minorities here are salt and forest vegetables (the forests supply such sweet tasting vegetables as "nuoc thit," "rau nhip"... such starchy and good tasting vegetables as rattan shoots...and very many kinds of seed that provide vegetable fat. Dishes such as thut soup, boi soup, sticky rice and rolled fish, which are tasty and of high nutritional value, are liked by the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands. These dishes are closely tied to forest resources). In the Central Highlands today, many villages are starting to lack potable water for humans and livestock, especially sources of clean water. A number of places at which nomads have been settled are only starting to think about developing the production of wet rice and making water available through water conservancy projects. But attention has yet to be given to clean water for humans and bathing water for elephants. The shortage of clothing is rather widespread and has reached alarming proportions at many places. Commerce agencies have yet to give their attention to supplying thick and durable types of cloth that are suited to the natural conditions and work habits of the minorities. On the other hand, local administrations and the mass organizations have not concerned themselves with encouraging the minorities to plant fiber bearing crops or improve and reorganize the traditional weaving trades that are practiced in every village. Blankets and mosquito nets are virtually non-existence. At some places, 10 families have only one thin Nam Dinh blanket among them (the average family consists of 4 to 6 persons). At many places, not one blanket can be found in an entire village. Travel and transportation are accomplished mainly by walking barefoot with a basket on one's back. Elephants, canoes and bicycles are only in use at a number of places. Motorized bicycles and small trucks are in use at only a very few places. Having a pair of rubber sandals has become the common wish of the ethnic minorities in order to make it easier for them to travel into the forests, attend meetings and engage in daily trade. Since antiquity, they have used buffalo, cattle and horses to make offerings, to hunt and to fight forest fires but still do not use them to pull carts.

In the field of spiritual culture, the Central Highlands is a region of very rich and diverse traditional folk culture, is a "precious pearl" of mankind in this century. Beneath the ground in the Central Highlands certainly lie many rare natural resources that we have yet to learn about as well as famous archeological cultures that today are still unknown quantities. Very efficacious herbal cures used by the people, such as cures for snake bit and tiger bit, birth control compounds..., are still locked among the secrets of the spirit world. The cultural life at basic units, in everything from the games they play and the flying of kites to which flutes made from O lo and giang bamboo are attached to the animal traps, the gong bands, the lyrical songs of the men and the women, the group dances, the drum dances and the shield dances to the long poems of an historical nature filled with emotion and symbolic gesturing to the stone musical instruments, the zithers, krong put, Kvoai horns, leaf horns...reflect the imposing natural surroundings and the sensitive soul of the people of the Central Highlands. Things from the nipped gongs to the famous Arabian gongs used in festivals (the buffalo sacrifice festival, the Po Thi festival, the 10th month festival and the good health festival, which are the four largest festivals, are participated in by a very large number of persons and lasts for many days) to the Jarai saying "9 months of hard work then 3 idle months of festivals and play" also indicate

that a way of life characterized by vivid remnants of a primitive society still exists today. However, the above mentioned festivals also easily bring about the revival of beliefs in spiritual powers, wrong concepts of present life, the partisan and narrowminded thinking of the clan, the special privileges and divine powers of the upper stratum... Belief in "persons who turn into ghosts at night and eat the entrails of other persons" and corrupt wedding and funeral customs still exert strong control on the lives of the people, especially of progressive persons and the young. These "ghosts" also pose a threat to life. There have been cases in which persons have been killed simply because of belief in this superstition. At a few places, we must give thought to whether this phenomenon of "persons who turn into ghosts at night" is a political scheme designed to sabotage local security and order that must be further observed in order to reach conclusions. More deserving of concern is the fact that illiteracy has recently begun to appear again and is spreading widely along with the development of belief in magical charms, sorcery, Shamanism... Meanwhile, during the past few years, ideological work and educational work and efforts to popularize science and spread new knowledge have been shown to be increasingly less effective within the ethnic minority areas.

In the field of technical culture, it can be said, generally speaking, that the ethnic areas of the Central Highlands are a world that has not significantly applied scientific and technical advances in life. Today, only a few cooperatives have rice milling machines, water pumps and electric fans. A couple of places have tractors and trucks. A number of localities are drafting plans for the construction of small hydroelectric power plants in the years ahead. However, generally speaking, wired radio networks, telephones, village libraries, films, schools, hospitals, commerce stores and so forth are entirely new phenomena in the cultural life of the people at basic units.

The above are the most basic features of current state of cultural life within the villages of the Central Highlands as we know them.

III. Some Thoughts on Developing the Cultural Life at the Basic Units Within the Ethnic Areas of the Central Highlands

During a visit to Dac Lac province in April 1983, Truong Chinh said: "The ethnic minorities in Dac Lac will encounter even more difficulties and complex problems in advancing directly to socialism because not only are they bypassing the stage of capitalist development, but must also leap over several social systems." (7) This observation must be more widely and deeply debated by researchers in order to visualize the difficulties that will be encountered and the severity of these difficulties. Between now and 1990, that is, in the space of only 5 years, or between now and the year 2000, that is, in the next 15 years, what will we build for the Central Highlands and what will emerge from the current situation as presented above for the minorities of the Central Highlands to enjoy in their daily lives?

Of primary and key importance is the settlement of nomads campaign. The state has been subsidizing and regularly investing in this work for many years; however, it is very regrettable that there is still not one model that can be called complete to the satisfaction of everyone. In our opinion, the state

should only focus major efforts on and complete their work at a number of places of strategic importance, at the centers of densely populated areas. Our forces in the natural sciences, the technical sciences and the social sciences should be mobilized for projects designed to resolve the settlement problem for the Central Highlands. Between now and 1990, each district within the Central Highlands should establish a few model settlement of nomad centers so that the minorities can see what is being done and should organize their construction under the guideline "the state and the people working together." Or, construction can be carried out under the export goods trade policy with the state selling materials to villages so that they can build their own housing. Along with reorganizing how the ethnic minorities live, we must organize the handicraft sectors and trades, grain and food product processing plants (processing cassava, corn, oil bearing plants...), small lumber and carpentry enterprises, lime kilns, tile kilns and forest product processing plants for the minorities or recruit minority labor in order to show them how to work and teach them a trade. It is necessary to popularize the techniques of planting and raising industrial crops of high economic value and disseminate experience in livestock production and medical treatment provided within the family while developing individual households, with a household garden for each family and a forest orchard for the collective. The minorities must be encouraged to quickly abandon the practice of living in long houses; at the same time, places where long houses are attractive should be selected for preservation as cultural relics and plans should be prepared for the development of tourist and entertainment facilities for the locality in the years ahead.

Bringing the ethnic minorities into state forestry sites and state farms is the quickest way to eliminate the disparity in life and achieving equality among the minorities. However, because this is the shortest route, it is also the course that poses many very acute difficulties and problems, which leaders usually do not fully anticipate. As a result, the programs for bringing the ethnic minorities into state forestry sites and state farms might fail if we do not quickly detect contradictions and take measures to correctly resolve them.

Special attention must be given to the development of wet rice cultivation, the initiation of intensive cultivation and the introduction of the technical experience and knowledge of the lowlands in the lives of the ethnic minorities (experience in the planting of fruit orchards, livestock production, the use of livestock as draft power, seed selection and so forth). At the same time, importance must be attached to developing the cultivation of corn, cassava, melons, gourds and the various kinds of beans, all of which have long been familiar crops to the ethnic minorities. We must organize the processing of cassava flour by manual methods within the villages, as is being done by the residents of the lowlands, and eventually build cassava flour processing enterprises in order to produce products for trade with other provinces and for exportation. Fish ponds and pisciculture lakes are beginning to develop and many places have recorded good results in this area. Therefore, it is necessary to much more strongly develop the establishment of pisciculture ponds and lakes, especially in the southern Central Highlands, where there are many natural bodies of water.

The state should give or sell building materials and cement to the ethnic minorities so that every cooperative and every village has a few large, open wells constructed of cement to provide sources of potable water. An effort must be made to provide the minorities in the Central Highlands with adequate clean water for drinking and everyday needs between now and 1990. As regards the clothing problem, policies must be adopted to restore and encourage the development of the cultivation of cotton and other fiber bearing plants and hand weaving among the minorities, policies that view these as the official trades and sectors of cooperatives. At the same time, it is necessary to study the possibility of supplying various types of cloth suited to the living conditions and work habits of the minorities. In the next few years, by means of appropriate methods, we must make it possible for each household to buy two blankets, for each citizen of the Central Highlands to have a pair of rubber sandals so that they need not go around barefoot and for each family to have an ample supply of bowls, aluminum pans and frying pans, thereby abolishing the practice of eating with extremely backward utensils.

In the field of spiritual culture in life at basic units, we should organize the use of ethnic medicines in the treatment of illness. At the same time, the various types of commonly used pharmaceutical crops raised in the lowlands should be introduced in the household gardens of the ethnic minorities to treat stomach aches, dysentery, influenza, bronchitis and so forth, which are still quite prevalent in the villages. It is necessary to develop orchestras and song and dance units at basic units and eventually organize music festivals for each type instrument (gongs, drums, marimbas, wind instruments, string instruments...). While we should not discourage the musicians of music units from using new instruments, full importance must be attached to encouraging the development and widespread use of folk musical instruments. Gradually reorganizing the major festivals is very important, especially the Po Thi festival, which lasts for many days and is very costly. The localities should organize meetings with village elders and representative individuals to discuss the adoption of new wedding and funeral conventions, thereby eliminating some of the corrupt customs and serious ills which all minority members want to see changed. Determined measures, both in the form of education and strict enforcement of the law, must be taken to quickly put an end to the practice of murdering someone and then proclaiming that the person killed was a "ghost."

In the field of technical culture, under the policy of the state and the people working together, we should accelerate the construction of small hydroelectric power stations and plants producing wind-generated electricity and produce many batteries for sale to the minorities. Positive steps should be taken to help cooperatives and villages obtain small rice milling machines with the aim of reducing the work load of women within the family. We must develop wired radio networks, television broadcasting and radio broadcasting stations, street lighting...in order to popularize science and completely change the cultural life at basic units in the years ahead.

By endeavoring to take the specific steps presented above, we will eventually narrow the gap that exists between the standards of living in the mountains and the lowlands and implement an important part of our party's nationalities policy in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V." [Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 101.
2. A. Mol: "The Social Dynamic of Culture," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p 35.
3. "Encyclopedia of Philosophy," Moscow, 1964, Volume 3, p 118.
4. Truong Chinh: "Dua nhan dan cac dan toc o Dak Lak tien thang len chua nghia xa hoi" [Advancing the People of the Ethnic Minorities in Dac Lac Directly to Socialism], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8-1983, p 10.
5. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Russian version, Book I, p 254.
6. V. Bromlay: "Outline of Family Theory," Science Publishing House, Moscow, 1983, p 26.
7. See: TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8-1983, p 11.

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VIETNAM PRESS DAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 95-98

[Unattributed article]

[Text] This year, in keeping with a Party Secretariat directive, we have organized the first nationwide Vietnam Press Day: 21 June has been selected as the annual date for Vietnam Press Day.

Exactly 60 years ago, on 21 June 1925, the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN, which was founded by President Ho Chi Minh and published in Vietnamese, made its debut. President Ho had travelled from the Soviet Union to China to personally organize and lead Vietnam's patriotic movement along the path of the proletarian revolution. Upon his arrival in Canton, he immediately established liaison with patriotic youths who were in search of the truth. He taught them about the basic views and methods of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization and then organized a new style association of patriotic Vietnamese called the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. The weekly newspaper THANH NIEN was the association's propaganda organ. The publication of THANH NIEN marked the birth of Vietnam's revolutionary press.

The purpose of establishing an annual Vietnam Press Day is to recall the enormous service that President Ho Chi Minh performed for the revolutionary press of Vietnam. As he did for the Communist Party of Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh laid the ideological foundation of Vietnam's revolutionary press, set its political and professional guidelines and provided it with education, training and guidance. His life was closely tied to the cause of the revolutionary press. He himself was a great proletarian journalist. It is because of the party and President Ho Chi Minh that Vietnam's revolutionary press has made the tremendous contributions and undergone the extraordinary growth that it has in every area and is "worthy of being one of the progressive revolutionary press organizations in the world."⁽¹⁾ Our corps of journalists is extremely happy and proud to have had such a great teacher and colleague as the most esteemed Uncle Ho.

Vietnam Press Day also provides us with an opportunity to review and continue to enhance the fine tradition of the revolutionary press. This tradition was very clearly and fully defined by Chairman Truong Chinh in his letter to the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Journalists' Association: "Prior to the August

Revolution, the press led by our party made important contributions to launching and guiding the revolution, to bringing the general uprising (1945) to victory and to the establishment of a nationwide people's government.

In the two wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors as well as in the victorious war against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys, the journalists of Vietnam were always present on the frontline. Many of them lost their lives in the performance of their duties and, with the blood they shed, enhanced the noble qualities of the journalists of Vietnam.

Before the South was completely liberated from the yoke of the neo-colonialism of the U.S. imperialists, the resistance press coordinated with a component of the public press to conduct propaganda and agitation within the cities and the rural areas under enemy control. On the frontline as well as in the rear area, our country's journalists bravely fulfilled their task and took the lead in the ideological work of the party.

Today, our country's press, which is continuing to fulfill its function as the collective agitator and collective organizer, is making every effort to propagandize the line on the socialist revolution and the tasks of defending the fatherland, resisting the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage, combating the negative phenomena within society, intensifying the struggle between the two paths, improving our revolutionary qualities and our knowledge of economics, science and technology, molding the new man, establishing the new way of life and establishing the new culture. At the same time, it is making every effort to teach patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to propagandize the foreign policy of our party and state."(2)

It can be said that the salient feature that runs throughout the fine tradition of our press is its unquestioned loyalty to the political stand and leadership line of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Properly fulfilling its function, the press has not only publicized and spread the line of the party, but has also played a role in organizing revolutionary forces. Displaying a high degree of party consciousness, a high degree of adherence to principle and a high sense of organization and discipline, our press has not once strayed from the line of the party. At turning points in the revolution or when difficulties have been encountered at one place or another and political vacillation has sometimes occurred, the press has always remained absolutely loyal and steadfastly brandished the banner of political, ideological and organizational unity.

On the occasion of Vietnam Press Day, our press and our corps of journalists must more clearly define what their role and responsibilities are in the present revolutionary cause of our people:

The press "must promptly explain the views of the party concerning important domestic and world events; help to heighten the spirit of socialist patriotism and the consciousness of respecting and strictly complying with the policies of the party and laws of the state, with the regulations and rules on order and security; heighten the desire to work of the masses; promptly and correctly guide public opinion; and make the cultural and spiritual lives of

the people richer."(3) By means of scientifically based arguments and living, practical examples, the press must give everyone a deep understanding of the lines and policies of our party and state in the period of transition to socialism, in general, and in the initial stage of the period of transition, in particular, thereby helping to improve the practical skills of cadres, party members and the people with the aim of successfully carrying out the socio-economic tasks set by the party and state.

The press must provide the people with a clear view of the country's situation and, on this basis, show them the achievements that have been recorded so that they derive inspiration from these achievements and take pride in them. At the same time, it must show the people the difficulties being faced so that they make an effort to overcome them and move forward to even larger victories.

The press must give appropriate attention to analyzing the bitter class struggle between socialism and capitalism and use its professional means to effectively participate in this struggle for the sake of the victory of socialism.

The press must continue to show everyone that our basic and long-range enemy is imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and that our immediate and most dangerous enemy is the reactionary disciples of Chinese expansionism and hegemony who have designs on annexing Vietnam and Indochina.

Teaching and cultivating revolutionary qualities and virtues are also responsibilities of our press today. The press must promptly praise the new style of work and new way of life; struggle against ways of life that are characterized by laziness, selfishness and immorality; and help to eradicate corrupt customs and superstitions, eradicate social ills and get rid of reactionary, decadent culture.

The distinctive characteristic of the revolutionary press is the expanded use of the press for the purpose of criticism and self-criticism. Therefore, all press organizations on the central as well as the local levels must "regularly engage in criticism and self-criticism of a mass nature of the activities of the party organizations, administration, mass organizations, specialized sectors, cadres, party members and personnel of the state in their performance of political tasks, considering this to be an important expression of the militancy of each newspaper."(4) Making greater use of the press for the purpose of criticism and self-criticism is an expression of the strength of our party and state. Supporting and participating in criticism and self-criticism are the obligation of every cadre, party member and citizen. Impeding the practice of criticism and self-criticism is a violation of party discipline and state law.

The press must also actively participate in teaching proletarian internationalism. The task of the press is to make the voice of socialist Vietnam heard far and wide in the international arena in order to give the people of the world a clear understanding of the realities of our country, a clear understanding of our line on building socialism and defending the fatherland and, in this way, win the sympathy and support of progressive

mankind. On the other hand, the press must contribute to the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale and clearly explain the stand and views of our party and state concerning the major issues of our times.

Vietnam Press Day is not only the festival of those who work in the press, but also a festival for all the people because, with the party in power, the press is both a tool of leadership of the party and state and a tool of collective ownership of the people. Through Vietnam Press Day, we must further strengthen the ties between the press and the masses. The press must delve deeply into the life of the masses and promptly reflect their opinions, aspirations and innovations. The masses must be made fully aware of the fact that the revolutionary press is their forum, not the tool of a particular group of persons. To accomplish this, journalists must display a high spirit of responsibility to the party, to the masses. They must make a very large effort to improve and train themselves, must work hard to rapidly raise their standards and deepen their knowledge in all areas: the political viewpoint and stand, their command of theory, their cultural standard, their professional standard, their practical knowledge and so forth.

Vietnam Press Day also provides an opportunity for the party to review and strengthen its leadership of the press, because, the revolutionary press is the press of the party and is under party leadership. Whether or not the press capably supports the political tasks of the party and produces the large results it is supposed to produce in the current revolutionary cause of our people depends upon the leadership provided by the party. Therefore, the organizations of the party and the administrations on the various levels must concern themselves with more closely leading, guiding and managing the press and the corps of journalists. The mass media must be expanded and must conduct more effective activities. The corps of journalists must be brought to full strength and meet all qualitative standards. The various party committee echelons and levels of government must give much more attention to the spiritual and material lives of journalists and must create for them the minimum conditions they need to perform their jobs and develop their talents. Specific regulations and policies should be adopted concerning journalists that encourage the development of their talents, spur higher labor productivity and improve the quality and results of their work.

Vietnam Press Day will result in journalists, along with the entire party and all the people, further accelerating the development of the press so that it capably supports the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Letter from Chairman Truong Chinh to the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Journalists' Association, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 9 Dec 83.
2. Ibid.
3. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 56.

4. Organization Department of the Central Committee Directive 197/CT-TU
dated 13 March 1972 "On Expanding the Practice of Criticism in the Press."

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THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPER IN VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 99-102

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] In late 1924, after participating in the 5th Congress of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc travelled from the Soviet Union to China. There, he accepted an assignment from the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International and, at the same time, began making political, ideological and organizational preparations for the eventual establishment of a revolutionary party of the Vietnamese working class. He founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and published THANH NIEN Newspaper to serve as the association's organ.

The first issue of THANH NIEN Newspaper, a weekly paper published in Vietnamese and printed in Canton, China, appeared on 21 June 1925. The paper was not published regularly. In April 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed Sun Wan and began opposing the revolution and Nguyen Ai Quoc was forced to leave Canton, the Central Committee (leadership body) of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was forced underground and the paper was published even less regularly.

THANH NIEN Newspaper, the first Vietnamese newspaper to be closely associated with a revolutionary mass organization, was the organ of that mass organization. It was the first Vietnamese newspaper to undertake the role of "collective propagandist, collective agitator, collective organizer," as Lenin said about the press. Truong Chinh stated: "The first newspaper to spread Marxism-Leninism in our country was THANH NIEN Newspaper, the organ of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, which was founded and edited by President Ho Chi Minh. Through articles printed in that paper over a period of many years, Uncle Ho showed our working class and people the path to national liberation and to socialism."(*)

Today, although we only have a few original issues of THANH NIEN Newspaper, translations by the French colonialists can also be used to learn more about this precious revolutionary heritage.

1. THANH NIEN Newspaper set its first tasks as conducting propaganda to build patriotism and hatred of the imperialists among the people, especially among

youths; awakening within them the confidence that the forces of revolution would win victory over the imperialists; and struggling against tendencies toward reformism, surrender to the imperialists and compromise with the imperialists. Every article, regardless of whether its subject was the East or the West, modern or ancient times or domestic or foreign affairs, focused on one fundamental point: to win victory over the imperialists, rebuild the country and make it prosperous and strong, it was necessary to establish a genuine revolutionary party whose course was guided by the doctrine of Lenin.

In order to show its readers that the French colonialists, although strong, had many weaknesses, THANH NIEN Newspaper employed imagery and words that were easily understood: "One particle of dust is all that it takes to stop a watch. Today, the watch that is the imperialists, the colonialists is very dusty. They talk about freedom, equality and civilization but practice racism, slavery and corruption. Therefore, sooner or later, the peoples of the colonies will come to see this deception, will awaken and arise in struggle. Moreover, the imperialist and colonialist countries, such as France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Japan, Germany and so forth, although strong, are becoming increasingly antagonistic toward one another, are fighting amongst themselves like thieves, are biting at one another like dogs. This fighting will weaken them, will cause them more difficulties and when these difficulties reach their peak, the revolution will win victory and imperialism will be defeated. Moreover, all the colonialist countries are capitalist countries and are being bitterly opposed by the proletariat at home, thus making it even more possible for the peoples of the colonies to topple the colonialists.(1)

In one short passage, the paper had presented the fundamental antagonisms of capitalist society. The antagonism between imperialism and the peoples of the colonies, the antagonisms among the imperialist powers and the antagonisms between the capitalists and the proletariat within the imperialist countries, which would weaken colonialism and imperialism and enable the peoples of the colonies to topple them.

THANH NIEN Newspaper also confirmed: there is but one path to follow to win victory over imperialism, the path of revolution, the path of using violent revolutionary force against violent counter-revolutionary force. "The revolution is change from that which is bad to that which is good. It is the combination of every activity and, as such, makes an oppressed people strong. The history of other countries teaches us that only by following the path of revolution can we advance to the establishment of a system that has its own education network and industry, that organizes and serves society well, etc."(2)

2. Concerning the process of development of the Vietnamese revolution, THANH NIEN Newspaper wrote: "The revolution must go through two periods: the period of destruction and the period of reconstruction. The goal of the first period is to topple the dictatorial system in Vietnam. The goal of the second period is to thoroughly develop upon the victory of the revolution. Therefore, once the French have been driven from Vietnam, we must eradicate counter-revolutionary elements, build roads, develop commerce and industry, educate the people and take steps to give the people a life of peace and

happiness."(3) This was an outline of the second stage of the Vietnamese revolution, an outline that our party later concretized and refined.

3. Once a correct revolutionary line had been adopted and a firm revolutionary viewpoint had been established, it was then necessary to adopt a good revolutionary method in order to quickly bring the revolution to victory. THANH NIEN Newspaper asserted that "a revolution is something very large, something that cannot be successfully carried out by only a few persons nor can it be completed in the space of only several days or several months"(4) with a view toward correcting impetuous thinking, thinking that would lead to reckless actions. Waging a revolution requires perseverance and patience, requires many years. "First, it is necessary to know the policy of the French; secondly, we must secretly organize our work."(5) And, with regard to our work, we had to know what had to be done first, which jobs could be performed at the same time and what had to be done last and could not simply perform any job we came upon or immediately perform any job that came to mind. "The revolution must propagandize, organize and train first and then employ armed force, not concern itself only with launching uprisings."(6) This is the science and art of revolutionary action. This understanding could only be reached through a thorough knowledge of the experience of the international proletariat in class struggle that was summarized in the doctrine of Lenin. This correct approach was the complete opposite of the "leftist" and rightist trends that were popular at that time.

THANH NIEN Newspaper attached importance to teaching revolutionary virtues, considering this to be a very basic factor in advancing the revolution to victory. "To perform revolutionary work one must know that the revolution is public work; therefore, one must follow the steps being taken with a sense of devotion and must, in addition, know that the essence of revolution is sacrifice--sacrificing one's family, sacrificing one's life, sacrificing one's rights, sacrificing one's opinions."(7)

On the basis of this view, THANH NIEN Newspaper instilled in the persons participating in the revolution a thoroughly revolutionary spirit and helped to overcome petty bourgeois individualism. Were the jobs of the revolution to have been examined on the basis of each person's subjective desires, not common interests, it surely would have been impossible to avoid harming the revolution. This being its view, THANH NIEN Newspaper also struggled against the temporary zeal and enthusiasm of persons from petty bourgeois backgrounds who participated in the revolution, persons who were not prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice and easily wavered in the face of difficulties, which led them far from the revolution. Sacrificing one's family, one's life and one's rights is a difficult thing to do; however, sacrificing one's opinions is not easy, either. Sometimes, in just a single discussion, a person, because of personal pride, might turn conservative and refuse to accept a correct opinion being expressed and thus be led far from the organization and become a political opponent. The above sentence is short but its essence is truly significant and very profound.

4. THANH NIEN Newspaper often discussed the role of a revolutionary party in organizing, uniting and leading and asserted that only with the leadership of such a party could the Vietnamese revolution achieve victory. "To advance the

revolution to victory, we must have a well organized revolutionary party that is capable of rallying and educating the masses, teaching them selfless sacrifice and gaining their participation in the fight."(8) THANH NIEN Newspaper confirmed: "Communism is a genuine philosophy, is the philosophy of the revolutionary party that we must follow"(9) and appealed: "Beloved fellow countrymen, the only true path is to follow the only party that is determined in its actions, the communist party."(10)

A genuine revolutionary party, according to THANH NIEN Newspaper, had to consist of exemplary members, members who were fully devoted to the cause of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution; sacrificed their personal lives, sacrificed everything for the struggle of the oppressed people; contributed to the advance of the revolution to the best of their talent and ability; concerned themselves with educating and awakening the people, with giving the people confidence in the party and leading the people in struggle; established many revolutionary organizations to draw the masses into suitable mass organizations; constantly tried to improve their revolutionary qualities and virtues and avoid vices such as vanity, lust for power and greed; were not overbearing or individualistic; were humble and generous; were not arrogant in victory or discouraged in defeat; steadfastly and tenaciously fought until the end...(11)

These were the basic tasks, the qualities and virtues of the communist party member that every member of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had to take as the guidelines in their struggle to become communist party members.

5. THANH NIEN Newspaper carried a rather large number of articles on the Russian revolution, Lenin and the achievements recorded by the Soviet people in socialist construction. Through these articles, it taught proletarian internationalism to the members of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and our people. "The Russian Revolution not only has close ties to the Russian people, but to all subjugated peoples and oppressed classes in the world... Today, the Russian Revolution provides many experiences that are examples for us to follow. It is as though the Russian Revolution has blazed the path and all we have to do is follow it."(12)

Concerning Lenin, THANH NIEN Newspaper wrote: "His talent was profound, his virtues were sterling. Not only was he a leader of the Russian Revolution, but he also charted the course for the worldwide revolution; therefore, he is revered as a father, a teacher by all oppressed peoples. Although they hated him, the imperialists feared him as well."(13) Here, THANH NIEN Newspaper raised a new banner, a new image in order to guide the revolutionary people of Vietnam in placing their confidence in them, in closely tying their struggle for national liberation to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and for national independence and socialism, thereby irrevocably placing the Vietnamese revolution within the category of the world proletarian revolution.

Looking to the Soviet Union, the banner of the world revolution, THANH NIEN Newspaper introduced the achievements that had been recorded by the Soviet people in all fields of politics, economics, national defense culture and

social affairs. These achievements were an objective reality that no one could deny. Upon his return from a visit to Russia, even Feng Yuchang, a notorious militarist of China's Koumintang, had to praise what he saw: "I saw many successes in Russia. However, the greatest success is that its communist party not only works for the Russian people, but also works for the entire world."(14)

The articles that appeared in THANH NIEN Newspaper were written in a pure and simple style. Although small in size, the majority of its articles were printed completely within one issue, with the exception of a small number of articles on the history of the revolution in other countries and international organizations, which had to be carried in many consecutive issues. The articles on the theory of philosophy, political economics and scientific communism were written in a way that was easily understood and supported with specific, practical examples. Although these were entirely new issues, educated youths could learn them without much difficulty.

THANH NIEN Newspaper met the requirements of its many readers, whose cultural standards, political knowledge and social background differed.

To make the paper more lively and interesting, THANH NIEN Newspaper, in addition to editorials, commentaries, criticism and news items, also carried poems and pictures.

THANH NIEN Newspaper had a major impact. It was truly an effective weapon of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in the performance of its historic tasks: bringing Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam; combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement; advancing the Vietnamese revolution to a new stage and preparing for the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

THANH NIEN Newspaper, the vanguard banner of the revolutionary press of Vietnam, will forever be a source of pride to Vietnamese revolutionaries and the journalists of Vietnam.

FOOTNOTES

* Truong Chinh: speech at the ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of NHAN DAN Newspaper on 11 August 1981.

1. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 17, 25 October 1925.
2. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 2, 28 June 1925.
3. Ibid.
4. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 66, 24 October 1926.
5. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 67, 31 October 1926.
6. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 72, 5 December 1926.

7. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 65, 17 October 1926.
8. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 100 (date unknown).
9. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 58, 22 August 1926.
10. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 60, 8 September 1926.
11. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 61, 18 September 1926.
12. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 68, 17 November 1926.
13. Ibid.
14. THANH NIEN Newspaper, No 65, 17 October 1926.

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THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE AFTER TEN YEARS OF CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 pp 103-106

[Article by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] On 25 June 1975, a significant political event occurred in the southeast portion of the African continent. Following more than 10 years of tenacious, heroic armed struggle under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the people of Mozambique won their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, thereby bringing to an end slightly less than 500 years of domination by the Portuguese colonialists, and declared the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique. During the first days following that victory, the people of Mozambique expressed their determination and desire as building a people's democracy, thoroughly reorganizing the socio-economic and political structures and preparing the conditions for advancing the country to socialism. During the past 10 years, they have made enormous efforts and won important victories in their cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Mozambique's achievement of most decisive significance has been the establishment and consolidation of the leadership role of its vanguard party, the FRELIMO Party, which was established at the 3rd Congress of the FRELIMO Front in February, 1977, a party which has taken Marxism-Leninism as its theoretical, political and ideological base. Today, the FRELIMO Party has a membership of more than 110,000, which consists of experienced revolutionary militants who participated in the struggle for liberation and young, zealous militants who work hard and are resourceful and brave in the fight to defend the fatherland. The FRELIMO Party has achieved broad national unity and leads the activities of society through the state administration. The revolutionary administration, which was established after smashing the fascist-colonialist ruling apparatus, is a dictatorship of the proletariat aligned with farmers and other laborers. Its base is the people's councils on the various levels with their more than 43,000 democratically elected representatives. Along with the state apparatus, mass organizations, such as the Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union and associations of a professional nature, such as the Teachers' Association, the Writers' Association, the Journalists' Association and so forth, have been established and made positive contributions to the glorious cause of the Mozambique revolution.

Having close ties to the masses, the FRELIMO Party has led the people of Mozambique through many difficulties and adversities and continuously advanced the revolution.

Mozambique's task of foremost importance is to build an independent and strong national economy. This is an exceedingly large task because Mozambique is a backward agricultural country that was exploited and impeded in its development by the colonialists for five centuries. During the years immediately preceding independence, the economic situation was very bleak. Realizing in advance that the colonialist regime could not avoid defeat, foreign capitalists and even domestic capitalists gradually fled Mozambique. Production plants were abandoned and machinery, equipment and means of transportation were stolen or destroyed. In 1973 and 1974, agricultural production declined by nearly one-third, industrial production declined by more than one-third and the volume of goods transported declined by one-fourth each year compared to the preceding years. At the time that the colonialist administration collapsed, nearly one-half of the citizens of Mozambique were unemployed and more than 2 million other persons were imprisoned in concentration camps.

The revolutionaries of Mozambique realized that after winning national independence, the central task of the revolutionary struggle shifted to the economic field. To successfully carry out this task, it has been necessary to combine the gradual establishment of political, ideological, cultural and technical bases while constantly displaying high vigilance and being ready to crush each scheme of sabotage of the reactionaries acting in collaboration with the imperialists.

On the basis of the country's specific situation, the FRELIMO Party has defined agriculture as the backbone of the national economy, as the base for developing the economy.

Immediately after independence was declared, Mozambique nationalized the plantations and farms of the capitalists and established them as basic production units of the state. Today, the state manages nearly 60 state farms. With nearly 140,000 hectares of farmland, these state farms supply nearly one-half of the agricultural commodities of the entire country, especially agricultural products for exportation. Together with building and strengthening the state farms, agricultural cooperativization has been carried out. In 1982, the entire country had only 195 agricultural cooperatives. Today, it has nearly 400. The organization and management of labor at the cooperatives have continuously been improved. Consumer cooperatives have also been strongly developed. At present, there are 1,200 consumer cooperatives in Mozambique serving nearly 3 million persons. At these stores, grain, food products and a number of other necessities are sold at stable prices and under ration standards. With goods still in short supply, these measures are designed to fairly distribute welfare, prevent speculation and insure that the most urgent needs of the people are met.

Within agriculture, together with developing the potentials of each type of arable land, Mozambique has attached importance to producing agricultural products of high value that are well suited to its climatic and soil

conditions, such as tea, walnuts (a kind of cashew), copra... In recent years, Mozambique has been annually producing more than 20,000 tons of tea, the majority of which is set aside for exportation. Mozambique annually exports about 120,000 to 150,000 tons of walnuts, which bring many strong foreign currencies into the country.

To develop its large potentials, Mozambique has been closely cooperating with the socialist countries. The Soviet Union has helped Mozambique build 30 industrial-agricultural projects, which include a project that will utilize the potentials of the Limpopo River valley by building a reservoir that will irrigate some 90,000 hectares of farmland in Gaza Province. According to estimates, upon the completion of this project, Mozambique's agriculture will take a leap forward in its development.

In industry, the insane acts of sabotage carried out by former owners after liberation day brought production at many factories and enterprises to a standstill. The state nationalized important enterprises, factories and production installations. Workers unanimously supported this decision and assumed the work of leading, managing and organizing production. Through the positive actions of the chapters of the FRELIMO Party, of the production councils and the enormous efforts made by the working class, normalcy was shortly restored. The state sector has gradually achieved the dominant role in industrial production. A socialist emulation movement and emulation in making innovations and technical advances have been launched at many factories and enterprises. Together with making full use of existing industrial plants, Mozambique has invested a large amount of capital in the construction of new plants, beginning with medium and small-scale enterprises suited to the use of raw materials within the country, which have yielded rapid returns. Some industrial products of Mozambique are receiving increasing attention on the world market and one was awarded the gold medal at an international fair. The sewing machines and refrigerators produced by Mozambique are not only widely used within the country, but are also exported to a number of African countries.

Another important achievement of the Mozambique revolution is that despite the prolonged natural disaster being experienced by the country and despite continuous fierce attacks by hostile forces, the education system, the health care system and cultural projects have been constantly built and strengthened to serve the interests of the people. Prior to liberation day, more than 90 percent of Mozambique's population was illiterate and only 50,000 persons in the country had an elementary school education. Today, less than 20 percent of the population is illiterate and 1 of every 6 persons is attending school. Education is free from 6th grade on down. The colleges have opened their doors to the children of workers and farmers. Many Mozambique youths have been sent to study in the socialist countries.

A public health system consisting of dozens of large hospitals, more than 100 general examination clinics and thousands of public health stations has been established. The people receive free medical examinations and treatment. The skills of public health cadres have been improved as has their equipment. Many skilled doctors from the socialist countries have volunteered to work in Mozambique.

With regard to culture, backward habits and customs are gradually being abolished. Cultural activities are becoming increasingly diverse. In the field of cinematography, Mozambique has produced a number of feature films on the heroic struggle for liberation and the cause of building the new life of the people. The "Cusa Canhema" Documentary Film Studio annually produces about 50 documentary films on every aspect of life within the country, on the socialist countries and on the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These films have made large contributions to increasing the people's political understanding.

The achievements that Mozambique has recorded over the past 10 years are deserving of pride. Against the background of the U.S. imperialists collaborating with the South African racist regime and their lackeys in frenzied efforts to carry out their policy of waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage in a vain attempt to impede the development of the Mozambique revolution and their scheme to extinguish the national liberation movement in South Africa, the above mentioned achievements of Mozambique assume even greater significance.

Because they are also struggling for the goals of independence, freedom and social progress, the people of Mozambique are very close to the people of Vietnam. In our nation's resistance against the United States for national salvation, the people of Mozambique supported us with heartfelt feelings and priceless encouragement. Recently, in July 1984, a high ranking delegation from the party and state of the People's Republic of Mozambique headed by Party Chairman and State President Marshall S.M. Machel paid a visit of friendship to our country, bringing to our people the militant comradeship and the warm feelings of friendship of the more than 12 million people of fraternal Mozambique.

The Vietnamese have been following the revolutionary struggle of the people of Mozambique with profound feelings of empathy. Ever loyal friends, the people of Vietnam reaffirm their militant solidarity with and strong support for the people of Mozambique in their glorious revolutionary cause and are very heartened by the achievements of enormous significance that the people of Mozambique have recorded.

As we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique, we sincerely wish the people of fraternal Mozambique many larger achievements in their cause of building and defending the fatherland.

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COVER PAGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 85 inside front cover, inside back cover, outside back cover

[Text] Inside Front Cover

"Teenagers and children are the future masters of the country. Therefore, caring for and educating them well are the task of the entire party and all the people. This work must be performed with patience and steadfast determination."

Ho Chi Minh
(1969)

Inside Back Cover

See charts on following page:

Chart 1

1. Transportation
2. Index of growth (%)
3. Volume of goods transported
4. Volume of passengers transported

Chart 2

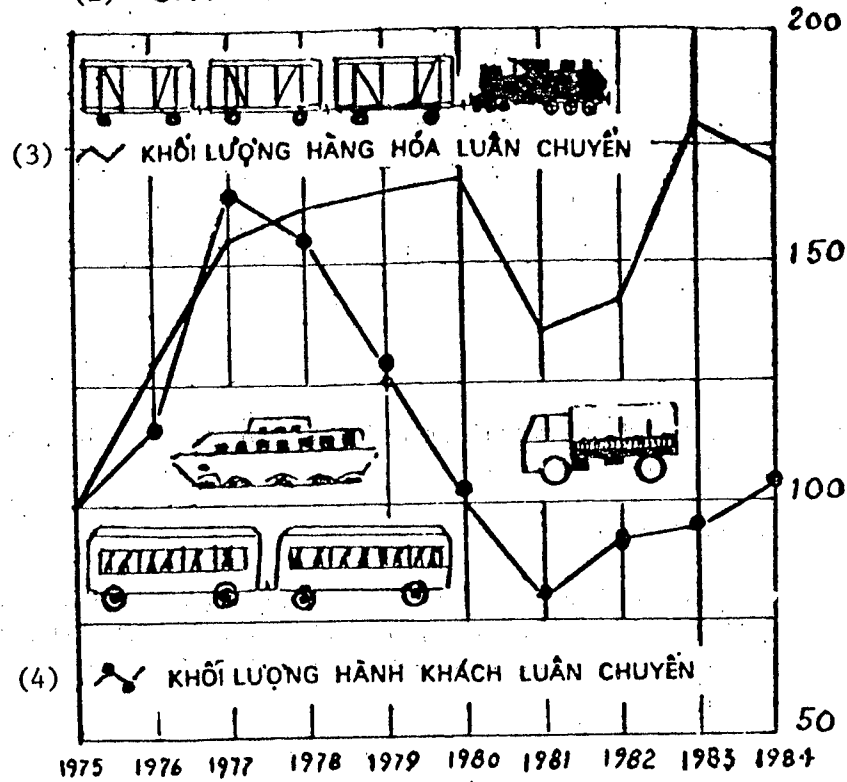
5. Breakdown of the Volume of Goods and Passengers Transported
6. Goods transported
7. Ocean Transport
8. River transport
9. Highway transport
10. Railroad transport

Chart 3

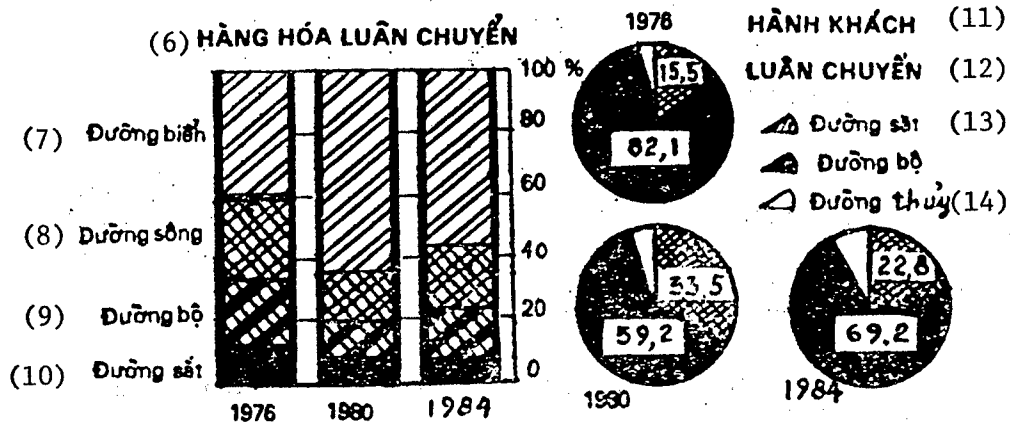
11. Passengers transported
12. By rail
13. By highway
14. By water routes

(1) VẬN TẢI

(2) CHỈ SỐ PHÁT TRIỂN (%)



(5) CƠ CẤU KHỐI LƯỢNG



Outside Back Cover

"Raising a Child Is Like Raising a Young Tree..."[these words of Ho Chi Minh appear in the bottom of a drawing by Thuc Phi depicting two, outstretched and cupped hands set against the background of flower petals. In the middle of the right hand stands a little girl dressed in a black blouse and black pants. The girl is holding a hoop in both hands above her head and is poised as if performing a gymnastic exercise].

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END

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